IMAGES · POWER POLITICS

Figurative Aspects of Esarhaddon's Babylonian Policy

BARBARA NEVLING PORTER

For Hayim,
in admiration, affection and
thanks,
Barbara

Images, Power, and Politics

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Stele found at Zincirli (ancient Sam'al) in north Syria representing Esarhaddon as conqueror of the Westlands, an image which contrasts with the benevolent image of the ruler preserved by his inscriptions for Babylon. (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum)

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BARBARA NEVLING PORTER

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Jacket Illustration:
Esarhaddon holding on a leash Baal of Tyre and Ušanahuru, crown prince of Egypt.
vs 2708 J. Börker-Klähn, *Altvorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs*, Baghdader Forschungen 4 (1982), Fig. 289

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To
M.H.P.

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The drawing appearing on the dust cover is St. J. Hockey-Klahn, *Ausgrabungen und Bildnerei und Vergleichbares, Fundbericht*, Baghdader Forschungen 4 (1982), fig. 219.

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The topographic coordinates of the maps are from the Central Intelligence Agency's World Data Bank II, as reformatted for microcomputer use by Fred Doperchal and Antonio Rocca, with additional detail from the relevant Tactical Pilotage Charts available from the U.S. Government Defense Mapping Agency. Locations of ancient cities are drawn from: Albert R. Al-Haik, *Key Lists of Archaeological Excavations in Iraq, 1842–1965*, edited by Henry Field and Edith M. Laird (Coconut Grove, Florida: Field Research Projects, 1968); Albert R. Al-Haik, *Key Lists of Excavations in Iraq, II, 1966–1971*, edited by Henry Field and Edith M. Laird (Coconut Grove, Florida: Field Research Projects, 1971); Richard N. Ellis, *Bibliography of Mesopotamian Archaeological Sites* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972); Simo Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (*Neuassyrisches Ortsnamenbuch*), *Part I, Letters from Assyria and the West, State Archives of Assyria I* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1970), end-pocket map; The Assyrian Empire, and Hans Gaiek, *Repertoire Geographique des Textes Cuneiformes, 8, Ur III Geographical Texts, according to Nippur and Babylonian Texts*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, ed. Wolfgang Röllig, (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1985). The maps and plans were prepared by Michael H. Bonacci of the Cartographic Division of the Cumberland Mainland and Islands Trust, to whom I offer my grateful thanks for his skill and patience.

The plans of Babylon and the temples Esagila and Etemenanki are adapted from the site plans of Friedrich Wetzel, published in Friedrich Wetzel, *Die Stadtmauer von Babylon*, WVDOG, 48 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1930), and Friedrich Wetzel and E. F. Weidner, *Die Ausgrabungen in Babylon, Fragmente und Erkundungen*, WVDOG, 43 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1930).

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Note on the Texts

IN THIS STUDY, PASSAGES FROM ESARHADDON'S ROYAL inscriptions have been identified by the title assigned the text in Rykle Borger's edition of the inscriptions, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (Graz: 1956) and are based on the Akkadian texts established there, supplemented or revised as necessary to incorporate new material published after Borger's edition appeared. Such new material is cited in the accompanying footnotes, and is also listed separately in Appendix III. Esarhaddon's inscriptions recognized and published after Borger's 1956 edition have been assigned titles according to Borger's system. The translations of Esarhaddon's inscriptions which appear here, although they owe much to Borger's translations and commentary, are my own.

Inscriptions of kings other than Esarhaddon are quoted from the translation in the edition cited on each occasion. Most letters are quoted from the translations of Simo Parpola in his *Letters from Assyrian Scholars*, as noted.

In accordance with Assyriological convention, parentheses within a passage translated from Akkadian mark comments added by the translator to make the translation clearer. Brackets mark the translator's suggested restorations of broken passages in the text. Roman numerals indicate column numbers, and Arabic numerals indicate line numbers of a given text.

The transliteration of personal names and place names in the Neo-Assyrian period is problematic, since it is often unclear from the Akkadian how contemporaries would have pronounced a given name, and since the Akkadian writing of names is sometimes inconsistent. To make it possible for readers, particularly nonspecialists, to recognize the person or place being discussed as one already known from previous studies, I have, insofar as possible, adopted the form of the name that appears in a standard reference work, rather than imposing a consistent pattern of transliteration. Personal names which appear in Assyrian letters have thus been cited in the form adopted by Simo Parpola in *Letters to Assyrian Scholars*, and names of Aramean tribes, in the form used by J. A. Brinkman in *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia*. For other proper names, I have used a normalized form reflecting current Assyriological practice, rather than one reflecting a phonetic writing of that name in Assyrian texts—again, because these forms are more likely to be readily recognizable from earlier studies. For some Akkadian names,

such as Sennacherib, or Nineveh, a conventional English form already exists, usually derived from the form in which the word appears in Biblical or Classical sources; in such cases I have used the English version of the name, without diacritical marks.

List of Abbreviations

In the case of abbreviated references in the list below, see the bibliography under the respective authors for a full citation.

AB	Assyriologische Bibliothek
ABL	Robert Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHw	Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*
ANET	James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
App	Appendix
AS	Assyriological Studies (University of Chicago)
Asarh	Rykle Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*
Bd	Band
BiMes	*BiMesopotamica* (Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten)
BM	Initial letters or British Museum identification numbers
Bu	British Museum identification numbers, objects purchased by E. A. Wallis Budge
CAD	A. Leo Oppenheim, E. A. Reiner, et al., ed., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*
Ch	chapter
Chr	Babylonian Chronicle text, published in A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*
col	column
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets ... in the British Museum*; for *CT* 15, see bibliography under King, for 44, under Pinches, for 53, under Pagels, and for 54, under Dietrich
cyl.	cylinder
diss	dissertation
Ep.	"Episode," or "Episoden," Borger's designation for a section of an inscription or group of inscriptions
fr	fragment
Gbr	"Gottesbrief" or "letter to a god" inscription of Esarhaddon in Borger's labeling system

HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
K	Kouyunjik or Kuyunjik, part of the ruins of Nineveh, mound letter of British Museum registration number or objects said to have been found there, sometimes *ca.* date
KAH I	Leopold Messerschmidt, *Keilschriftliche Aufbewahrungsinschriften*, I. WVDOG 16
KAH II	Otto Schroeder, *Keilschriftliche Aufbewahrungsinschriften*, II. WVDOG 37
KAR II	Erich Ebeling, *Keilschriftliche Aufbewahrungsinschriften*, WVDOG 34
l.e.t.l.	last extant line
LAS	designation for Assurnasirpal's texts published by Simo Parpola in *Letters from Assyria to Ashur-nasir-pal, Assurnasirpal and Assurnaqqi*, Part I, *Texts*
Letters II	Simo Parpola, *Letters from Assyria to Ashur-nasir-pal, Assurnasirpal and Assurnaqqi*, Part II, *Introduction and Appendices* (1971)
Letters III	Simo Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*, Part II, *Commentary and Appendices* (1983)
MAH	inner letters of an inventory number for objects in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
Mnin	mnemonic designation for a text inscribed on a monument or relief in Hunger's Ghelenge system
Nin	Nineveh in Hunger's Ghelenge system, designation for a text dealing primarily with Nineveh
n	note
obv	obverse, or front, of a tablet
OIP, 2	David David Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*
Or	Oriental (new series)
pl	plate
PN	personal name
R	Henry C. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* [R vol. I, 1 Selection from the Historical Inscriptions of Chaldea, Assyria, and Babylonia (1861)], IIR vol. II, 5 Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria (1866), IVR vol. IV, 4 Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria (1875)
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
rpt	reprint
r	reverse, or back, of a tablet
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, E. Ebeling et al. (eds)

Rm	initial letters of British Museum identification numbers for objects excavated by Hormuzd Rassam
sg	singular
Smsh	"Sumerische" Hymnen-designation (pp. 93–95) for a summarizing description of Enmerkar
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
VAT	initial letters of identification numbers for clay tablets belonging to the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung
Ur3	*Ur-III-Zeit* (2100–2000)
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
YBC	initial letters of identification, usually [illegible] in the Yale Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie*

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

THE KINGS OF ASSYRIA ACQUIRED IN THEIR own day a reputation for ruthlessness which they were careful to encourage, depicting themselves in royal inscriptions and public monuments as merciless fighters and as rulers who punished any attempt to resist by torturing rebel leaders and pillaging cities. This image, powerfully presented, had the dual effect of reassuring the Assyrians of their own power and at the same time reminding their subjects of the high price of resistance. Bitter references in Biblical texts to the Israelites' experiences at the hands of their Assyrian conquerors lend credence to this picture and have helped keep the memory of Assyrian ruthlessness alive into modern times. Even today, the poet Byron's description of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, who "came down like the wolf on the fold," is the phrase by which the Assyrians are most often remembered. Although the Assyrians' reputation for violence is well deserved, a close look at their handling of Babylonia suggests that coercion through violence was only one aspect of Assyrian rule; the effectiveness of the Assyrians' own propaganda of violence has to a large extent prevented subsequent generations from recognizing their equally skillful use of the peaceful arts of government to control conquered populations.

This book is intended in part as a corrective to this common perception of the Assyrians as rulers. It focuses on Assyrians' use of peaceful measures to maintain control over the conquered nation of Babylonia during the reign of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria in the early seventh century B.C., a time when Assyria was still the controlling imperial power in the Middle East. Documentary evidence from Esarhaddon's reign suggests that he was not only a successful military leader but an effective diplomat, as well, who succeeded in controlling the chronically rebellious Babylonians largely by developing a public relations program designed to encourage their acceptance of Assyrian rule. Esarhaddon's approach to Babylonia is an example of Assyrian political control exercised less through terror and intimidation than through a shrewd and intelligent responsiveness to the needs of the people he governed. In the chapters that follow, as we trace Esarhaddon's tumultuous rise to power and his successful efforts to stabilize his position by establishing peace in Babylonia, a new and more complex model of how the Assyrians ruled their empire emerges.

one in which the political skills of the kings of Assyria can be seen to play a major role.[1]

When Esarhaddon came to the throne late in the year 681,[2] Assyria had been for some time the dominant power in the Near East, controlling an empire stretching from the Persian Gulf to the borders of Egypt. Suffering from a serious illness, however, Esarhaddon was to rule that empire for only eleven years until his death in the year 669—a short and difficult reign. From the beginning, when he seized control of Assyria in the midst of the civil war that followed his father's murder, Esarhaddon was under pressure from contending factions within Assyria. Outside the homeland, he faced recurrent threats of rebellion from already conquered nations and threats of attack from nations beyond the empire's borders.

In spite of these difficulties, Esarhaddon governed Assyria and her empire with more success than he has sometimes been credited with. He brought a quick end to the civil war of 681, carried out an ambitious building program in both Assyria and Babylonia, waged successful campaigns in Manneia, Sidria, and Phoenicia, conquered Assyria's longtime rival Egypt, and managed to engineer the peaceful transfer of power to his son at his death. A series of achievements that make him one of the more successful Neo-Assyrian kings.

Perhaps the most impressive of his achievements, however, was his success in controlling the chronically rebellious Babylonians with a minimum of military intervention. The era of relatively peaceful relations between the two states which he created was to continue throughout his reign and for almost seventeen years after his death. Considering the state of Assyrian-Babylonian relations at the time of Esarhaddon's accession, this period of relative harmony was a remarkable achievement. Assyria had been conducting intermittent campaigns in Babylonia since the thirteenth century, finally imposing direct Assyrian rule on the Babylonians in the reign of the Assyrian king Tiglath-

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

Pileser III, in the eighth century. The Babylonians, however, had remained stubbornly resistant to Assyrian rule. Esarhaddon's predecessors, despite repeated campaigns against Babylonia, had found themselves unable to rule Babylonia for more than short periods of time before being confronted by yet another revolt. In the time of Esarhaddon's father Sennacherib, the destructive cycle of Babylonian revolts and Assyrian punitive campaigns reached a climax. After overcoming a series of Babylonian uprisings, Sennacherib finally attacked the venerable city of Babylon itself, reportedly flooding it, destroying its citizens, and diverting a canal to flood the remains. Although Sennacherib's accounts may exaggerate the extent of the damage he inflicted, they are evidence of the intense hostility that had developed by this time on both sides.

Esarhaddon's efforts to establish peace between the two states in the following years confronted antipathy rooted in these years of conflict and not easily dispelled. It is not surprising that reports from Esarhaddon's reign attest to continued tension and occasional outbreaks of violence on both sides despite the king's efforts to effect a reconciliation.[1] The anti-Assyrian feeling in Babylonia was elevated, for example, in a letter to Esarhaddon which reports that citizens of the city of Babylon had "set up a wailing and protested" at the Assyrian governor's imposition of heavy taxes and would probably be incensed by him of pelting his messengers with lumps of clay.[2] From the Assyrian side, a similar hostility is evident in a letter to Esarhaddon from one of his advisers suggesting that the newly initiated substitute king is persuaded at a time of unfavorable omens to take upon himself the king's impending

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible] rather than "commanded" to suggest the [illegible]

misfortune and perhaps death should be chosen from among the Babylonians, remarking: "[the king my lord] knows the Babylonians . . . : (these) plotters should be affli[cted]."[7]

The hostile feelings such letters reveal periodically erupted in hostile actions as well. From Babylonia there are numerous accusations of plotting to overthrow the Assyrian government. While some of these accusations may have been made by people trying to settle old scores or seek advancement, several of the accusations have a convincing ring. One report, for instance, claims that during the turmoil at the beginning of the reign, a group of Babylonians offered money to the king of Elam in the hope of hiring troops to help in a planned revolt against Assyria.[8] It is a plausible story, since Elam had regularly helped Babylonia in past revolts, and since the accusation is supported by statements from two Babylonian witnesses. Equally convincing are the accusations levelled against a man named Sallapi, which are so frequent and so detailed, and come from so many sources, that it is hard to avoid the conclusion that he was actively plotting against Assyria. One of the more explicit accusations reports that Sallapi had inquired about three leaders of Babylonia, "speaking about uprisings of the country," and concluding, "Seize the fortified places one after another!"[9] Such reports of treason and plotting in Babylonia were a common topic of letters to the king and attest to the magnitude of the problem Esarhaddon confronted in attempting to establish lasting peace between the two states.

It is a sign of his remarkable success in this undertaking that none of the plotting in Babylonia produced an uprising under Esarhaddon's rule, in marked contrast to earlier reigns. We learn of the plots from Esarhaddon's reign precisely because they were discovered in the planning stages and reported to the Assyrian authorities, who intervened before any action could take place.[10] In several cases we are told explicitly that the plotters had been dis-

[7] LAS 163. The king's friendship with the people of Babylonia is referred to in the letter ABL 103, which is addressed to the Babylonians and shows a proverbial concern for appearances of their magnificent city Babylon.

[8] This report is cited in [illegible] Nassouhi's publication of the Assurbanipal report, VAT 9975, published in Ein neue Weltkarte [illegible] Berlin [illegible].

[9] Sallapi's prominent role in the conspiracy against Esarhaddon is evident from the letters published in Simo Parpola, The Assyrian Royal Inscriptions from Nineveh, Mesopotamia, Mesopotamian Civilization, Ancient Near Eastern Texts [illegible] Sallapi's role in plots against Assyria in the letters ABL [illegible] and [illegible].

[10] Examples of Babylonian plots discovered and reported to the king include the conspiracy by Sulmu-šiqi-uddina [illegible] and Apasa, reported to the king in the letter [illegible]. A letter from Šamaš-ṭabni to Esarhaddon, [illegible] Mušezib-Marduk [illegible] against Assyria, there is no [illegible] of actual revolt or plotting. For a recent [illegible] handling of the evidence about Sallapi, see the essays by Erle V. Burkholder, "Sennacherib's Attack and Subdeals in Southern Babylonia in the Early Seventh Century B.C." (Ph.D. diss.), from that a

nounced by other Babylonians, suggesting that Babylonian opposition to Assyrian rule had become less than unanimous.[7]

Since the chapters that follow focus on the strategies Esarhaddon uses to effect a partial reconciliation of the Babylonians to Assyrian rule, it is worth taking a moment at the outset to make it clear that he does succeed in this very difficult undertaking—a point that has not always been clear to commentators on his reign. In the first months of his reign, he did, to be sure, dispatch an Assyrian army into Babylonia to relieve the siege of Ur, part of an uprising set off by his father's sudden death and the subsequent civil war in Assyria, but the rebels fled Babylonia before a confrontation with the advancing Assyrian forces could occur.

After this initial incident, we know of only three situations during the reign in which the Assyrians intervened with a show of force, all three incidents apparently of minor importance. In 678, the Assyrians removed from office the governor based in the Babylonian city of Nippur along with a leader of the Bit-Dakkuri tribe settled in that area; both men were taken to Assyria and executed, an action reinforced by a punitive raid on Bit-Dakkuri territory by Assyrian troops. The reason the texts offer for this raid is that the Bit-Dakkuri leader had seized land belonging to inhabitants of Babylon and Borsippa; the governor, although his role is not explained, may have been suspected of collaborating in the project. Three years later, in 675, there was evidently further trouble in Nippur, the city's new governor and another Bit-Dakkuri leader were removed to Assyria and probably executed. In this case, the texts give no explanation for the Assyrians' intervention; Pamela D. Gerardi has suggested that the incident may represent a failed Elamite-Babylonian alliance against Assyria, the Elamite aspect of which con-

[illegible]

[illegible] Nabu-šuma-iškun's plot for example was reported to the Assyrians by the Babylonian [illegible] the plotters had employed assassins, [illegible] "Murders Discovered," 5 r. The plot reported in the letter BM 33956: Parpola, "Letter to an Assyrian Official," 21–26, was discovered by the Assyrian authorities in Babylonia. Reports from Babylonians were probably of necessity, the Assyrians' main source of information about Babylonian plots.

sisted of a raid on Babylonian territory earlier in the same year.[10] The third incident, which took place a year later, in 674, was an attack by Assyrian troops on the Chaldean city of Sa-amile in southern Babylonia.[11] All three incidents suggest that the leaders of the Chaldean tribes and the city of Nippur were trying to form a coalition against the Assyrians but were finding little support for their efforts. None of the reports in either Babylonian or Assyrian sources suggest that anything approaching an uprising had occurred; all three incidents appear to have been Assyrian police actions in response to minor disturbances.

Esarhaddon's reign differed significantly from that of his father and grandfather in that outbreaks of violence between the two states were, in fact, no minor. During his reign, Esarhaddon succeeded in establishing a period of relatively peaceful relations between the two nations that was to last for almost thirty years and did so without invading Babylonia—a remarkable success achieved against high odds and one that marks him as a ruler of considerable political skill.

The change to Assyrian-Babylonian relations that occurred in Esarhaddon's reign was the product of many factors. The nature and political situation in Babylonia at the time of Esarhaddon's accession, the effectiveness of the administrative structure Esarhaddon adopted for Babylonia, and the abilities and personalities of the kings, administrators, and of the kingdoms itself, for example, each contributed in substantial ways to the success of his rule in Babylonia. Of central importance, however, was Esarhaddon's use of images and symbols associated with kingship and nationhood to help build a broad support for his rule of Babylonia. It is this aspect of his rule which will concern us in the pages that follow. A central characteristic of Esarhaddon's policy toward Babylonia, one that has not yet been widely recognized, is his success in winning the Babylonians' acceptance for his rule not only by conferring on them tangible benefits—such as building projects and freedom to trade—but also by focusing on what might be characterized as the symbolic and figurative aspects of political life, the symbols and images that help to shape a people's conception of their own political situation and identity.

In an essay discussing the forces that bring political communities into being and hold them together, Michael Walzer emphasizes the extent to which nations are "imagined communities" in his words. "The state is invisible; it must be personified before it can be seen, symbolized before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived."[12] Esarhaddon, I will argue, deliberately

[10] [illegible]

[11] [illegible]

[12] Michael Walzer, "Obligation: Political Symbolism in Modern Democracy," 204.

concerned himself with the images that shaped Babylonians' and Assyrians' ideas of their states. In the early years, his statements and activities in Babylonia seem designed to present Esarhaddon to the Babylonians not so much as an individual ruler, but rather as a type, a personification of the Babylonian concept of kingship, a traditional emblem of their identity as a nation. Through symbolic action (the performance of the Babylonian royal ritual of bridle-bearing), through figuratively charged language (the adoption of traditional Babylonian royal titles which not only reflected practical political realities but also represented each successive Babylonian king as the personification of ancient Babylonian traditions of rule), and finally through the rhetoric of his texts for Babylonia and the image of the king they presented, Esarhaddon presented himself publicly in Babylonia as the very type of a Babylonian ruler. In his inscriptions for Babylonia, I will argue, Esarhaddon is presented less as an individual who happens to rule than as kingship personified—even more significantly, not an Assyrian ruler, as *Babylonian* kingship personified. In his inscriptions for Assyria and in his public actions there, however, he presents in contrast the persona of a typical Assyrian ruler.

Later, in the second half of his reign, the emphasis of his inscriptions changes. Instead of greater attention on the image of the Babylonians and Assyrians as nations, presenting to both states a new and expanded image of themselves as essentially one united community sharing common concerns, albeit under Assyrian rule. To encourage acceptance of this changed national image, Esarhaddon also introduces in the later years of the reign a project envisioning the restoration of the cult statue of the Babylonians' high god Marduk. He uses the transferred figure of the god Marduk to draw the Assyrians and Babylonians more closely into kinship to one another, a relationship now personified by the god Marduk himself. In the chapters that follow we trace and examine Esarhaddon's use of these figurative aspects of political life—first the persona of the king and later the image of the nations and the magnetic power of the god Marduk—to encourage allegiance to an expanded concept of nation which would include both Babylonia and Assyria as a single, united political and cultural community under Assyrian rule. The power of symbols and images to change the concept of kingship and of nation in Assyria and Babylonia, in short, is Esarhaddon's chief tool in his governance of Babylonia. He uses the figurative and symbolic aspects of the political life of both states to draw them into a closer relationship.

The evidence for these activities appears chiefly in the royal inscriptions, since it is these texts that presented the kings public image and public messages to the nations he ruled. Fortunately, a revised modern edition of these documents, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien*, published in 1956 by Rykle Borger, has resolved many of the philological problems that hindered earlier studies of Esarhaddon's reign. In his admirable edition, Borger collects

the widely scattered inscriptions from Esarhaddon's reign and provides reliable Akkadian texts and translations, as well as extensive philological commentary for each document,[1] paving the way for a thorough reassessment of Esarhaddon's reign. Borger's publication of the royal inscriptions was followed by badly needed new editions of much of the official correspondence from Esarhaddon's reign, prepared by Simo Parpola[2] and Manfried Dietrich,[3] and by a revised edition of the Babylonian Chronicles, including those covering Esarhaddon's reign, prepared by A. Kirk Grayson.[4]

The philological advances these editions represent have been complemented by further archeological investigation, as well, most notably the Iraqi excavation of a small section of Esarhaddon's palace at Nineveh and the British excavation of Esarhaddon's palace at Nimrud (ancient Calah),[5] providing further material evidence for Esarhaddon's reign. Despite the contributions of these projects, however, visual images of Esarhaddon as king are almost entirely lacking in us, in part because his principal palace at Nineveh lies beneath the mosque of Nebi Yunus, and only a small portion of it has been excavated. The surviving visual representations of Esarhaddon are limited to representations of the king on three nearly identical stelae found in scattered sites in the west of the Assyrian homeland, one badly fragmented rock carving that is one of a series of ancient representations of kings carved on cliffs at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb in Lebanon (again a western, non-Assyrian setting) and finally one image of the king with his mother, embossed on a strip of metal whose original provenance is unknown. With the exception of this last piece, about whose provenance we can only speculate, our evidence for the visual iconography of kingship in Esarhaddon's reign is confined to these four images of a conquering king presented to audiences in the Assyrian provinces of the west. Of the visual iconography of his reign in Assyria itself, or that directed at Babylonia, there is as yet no trace. Despite recent archeological discoveries of significant Esarhaddon materials, our study

[1] Rykle Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* [illegible] Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 9 (Graz: Archiv für Orientforschung, 1956). [illegible] for Esarhaddon's reign, see Appendix [illegible] Texts.

[2] Simo Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*, Part I, AOAT 5/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Bercker, 1970); Part II, AOAT 5/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Bercker, 1983). [illegible] under the title *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, Part II, Juvenalis and Appendix [illegible] Parpola, [illegible] unpublished Assyrian letters [illegible] Museum, Part [illegible] Assyrian [illegible].

[3] Manfried Dietrich, *Die Briefe Assurbanipals an babylonische Gelehrte* [illegible] letters to Neo-Assyrian kings under the [illegible] *Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part [illegible] Assyrian [illegible] Appendix [illegible] Texts.

[4] *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Texts from Cuneiform Sources, V.

[5] For a discussion of the results of these excavations, see Chapter [illegible] below.

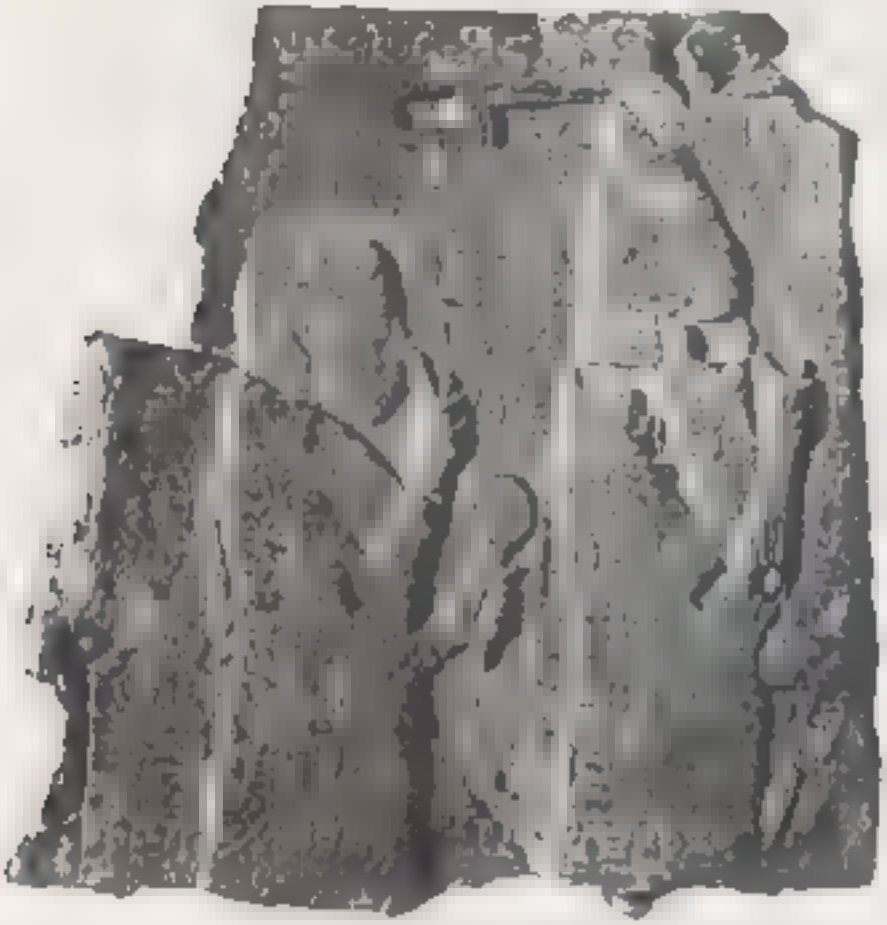


PLATE ONE

Fragment of an inscribed bronze plaque showing Ennadidos followed by his mother Napir[illegible], who is identified by name on her upper arm (AO 20185, Musée du Louvre, Antiquités Orientales. © RMN.)

of the images of king and nation projected by Esarhaddon in Assyria and Babylonia and their role in his Babylonian policy, must of necessity rely on documentary evidence alone.

Fortunately, the documentary evidence is rich and has been further supplemented by recent discoveries. One of the most significant of these was the discovery of a dialogue text of documents recording oaths imposed on certain eastern vassals of Assyria, requiring them to support Esarhaddon's arrangements for the succession to the thrones of Assyria and Babylonia. These texts were originally published by D.J. Wiseman in 1958 under the title, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon*, and have since been published in a revised edition with commentary prepared by Kazuko Watanabe, and a revised translation prepared jointly by Watanabe and Simo Parpola.[1] Although up-to-date editions are still needed for several groups of documents from the reign, in particular the inventory texts and the remaining letters, these philological and archeological advances have made it possible to begin a much needed reexamination of Esarhaddon's reign and of his successful government of Babylonia.

Esarhaddon's extensive efforts to gain public support for his policies were in part necessitated by the uncertainties of his position in Assyria as he began his reign. They were also a response to the complex political situations that had developed in Babylonia. We begin our investigation of Esarhaddon's public relations efforts in the two nations by tracing his simultaneous rise to power in Assyria and its effect on the political position there. We then turn our attention to the complex political and military situation which confronted him in Babylonia at the time of his accession.

With these preliminaries completed, we can then begin to examine the elements of the program Esarhaddon developed to create public support for his Babylonian policy, tracing the development of that program throughout his reign. We can do so by examining the extensive program of building projects Esarhaddon sponsored in Babylonia and Assyria to give concrete evidence of his benevolent concern for both nations.

In Babylonia, one effect of Esarhaddon's sponsorship of temple building projects was to put him into publicity in a role usually reserved for Babylonian kings alone. Esarhaddon's efforts to identify himself in Babylonia by developing Babylonian royal titles, performing Babylonian royal ritual, and presenting himself in local inscriptions as an essentially Babylonian king, is the topic of the third chapter, which also traces Esarhaddon's simultaneous efforts to reassure the Assyrians of his continuing commitment to them and

[1] [illegible] Kazuko Watanabe [illegible] Wiseman, [illegible] Watanabe [illegible] extended in [illegible] State Archives of Assyria [illegible]

their traditions by presenting a consistently Assyrian royal persona in the homeland. Esarhaddon's program to create public support for his Babylonian policy underwent significant changes as the reign progressed; in the final chapter, we examine the changing national images of Babylonia and Assyria presented in royal inscriptions, the growing importance of those images as elements in Esarhaddon's program of public relations, and the restoration and return of Marduk's statue as the final elements in Esarhaddon's efforts to draw Assyria and Babylonia closer together in the final years of his reign.

CHAPTER TWO

The Years of Preparation

ALTHOUGH THIS STUDY WILL FOCUS PRIMARILY on Babylonia, the forces that shaped Esarhaddon's Babylonian policy had their roots partly in Assyria, and it is there that any study of his Babylonian policy must begin. When Esarhaddon took the throne of Assyria late in the year 681, the most pressing problem confronting him was simply survival. Esarhaddon took the throne by force during an uprising after his father's death, and it was necessary that he make immediate efforts to secure his position in Assyria if he was not to fall victim himself to a second uprising. The need became even more pressing when he began almost immediately to mutate a Babylonian policy that Assyrians were likely to find unpalatable. To strengthen his position in Assyria and achieve some modicum of security, Esarhaddon developed over the years an elaborate program of public relations designed to present him in his homeland as an unsuspicious ally. Assyrian king whose primary loyalty was to Assyria, however extensive his attentions to Babylonia. This public relations program, as we will see, involved public appearances by the king, written (and probably verbal) messages, and an extensive program of public works.

These efforts to win Assyrian support were necessary not only because of Esarhaddon's somewhat controversial Babylonian policy—the problem that has most often captured the attention of historians interested in his reign—but also because of the insecurity of Esarhaddon's initial political position, a legacy of his early years. Although the chain of events that brought him to power is not always clear—it must be reconstructed from evidence which is often sparser than we would like—the available evidence suggests that Esarhaddon was not his father's initial choice as heir, that even after he was chosen heir he fell from favor and found it expedient to leave Assyria for his own safety, and that he took the throne in the end by force, seizing it from his warring brothers after the murder of his father.

The struggles that brought him to the throne made Esarhaddon's position in Assyria at the beginning of his reign precarious. So long as any brothers remained alive, Esarhaddon faced the possibility of assassination or renewed uprisings at any time. To survive, he needed to win, and keep, the support of the Assyrian power elite. It seems likely that Esarhaddon's careful attention to Assyrian public opinion throughout his reign was in part a calculated response to the uncertainties created by his tumultuous rise to power.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to trace the events of that rise to power in any detail. Only a few official accounts survive from the final years of Esarhaddon's father Sennacherib (704–681),[1] and none of these discusses arrangements for the succession explicitly. We are left to reconstruct the early stages of Esarhaddon's rise to power from a series of indirect references in texts concerned with other matters.

A passage from one of Sennacherib's annals,[2] for example, implies that the first heir to the throne named by Sennacherib was not Esarhaddon, but an older brother named Aššur-nadin-šumi. The text reports that Aššur-nadin-šumi was appointed king of Babylonia by Sennacherib, and it gives Aššur-nadin-šumi the title *mārē-rēši*, "pre-eminent, or first-born, sons."[3] Both the title and his appointment to the prominent position of king of Babylonia imply that he held a special position among the king's sons and suggest that he was being groomed to follow Sennacherib as king of Assyria.

Whether the title *mārē-rēši* should be taken as conclusive evidence of his appointment as crown prince is not entirely clear, however, since the term is not restricted to sons of kings alone and its precise meaning in this passage remains somewhat ambiguous. In Akkadian, as in English, the word "first" [illegible] can mean either "first" chronologically, or "first" in quality. Taken in [illegible] sense, however, the use of this term creates a strong presumption that Aššur-nadin-šumi was Assyria's crown prince. It must [illegible] is taken here in the sense of "first in quality, pre-eminent." Aššur-nadin-šumi's title as heir seems likely, since a rich meaning "first, or pre-eminent, son" would seem appropriate for the crown prince alone. If the title is understood in the chronological sense, as meaning "first-born,"[4] the implication that Aššur-nādin-

[illegible]

šumi was the presumptive heir to the throne is even stronger, since circumstantial evidence seems to indicate that the Assyrians in this period normally followed the principle of succession to the throne by the eldest son of the reigning king.[illegible]

The hypothesis that Aššur-nadin-šumi was at this point next in line for the throne is supported by the few surviving pieces of evidence for his career. We know, for example, that Sennacherib built a palace for him at Assur.[illegible]

[illegible] The principle that [illegible] Assyrian [illegible] king.

It is [illegible]

The [illegible]

[illegible] son.

[illegible] Leopold Messerschmidt, [illegible] vol. 1, no. [illegible] nacherib for Aššur-nadin-šumi.

this was an honor also accorded later to Esarhaddon, while he was crown prince, and was probably a necessary courtesy, providing each crown prince with needed office space and audience rooms for his duties as the king's second-in-command, as well as space for the rituals in his personal retinue. It is not possible to establish an exact date for the construction of Aššur-nadin-šumi's palace, nor for the appointment as heir apparent that probably accompanied it, but the palace's northern location suggests a date sometime before the year 700, when Aššur-nadin-šumi was appointed ruler of Babylonia, an appointment that would have meant a move to southern quarters.

This appointment, as I have suggested, was further indication of Aššur-nadin-šumi's special status. As the Assyrian ruler in Babylonia, he would hold a delicate and politically important office, a position that could provide valuable practical experience for a future ruler of Assyria. As it happened, however, the problems of governing Babylonia proved to be more than Aššur-nadin-šumi, or perhaps anyone, could handle. The Babylonians continued to plot against Assyria, and in 694, six years after Aššur-nadin-šumi's appointment, they succeeded in having him kidnapped and put to death by their allies, the Elamites, ending his short rule over Babylonia and his role as heir to the Assyrian throne as well.[6]

This brings us to Esarhaddon. With Aššur-nadin-šumi dead, it was necessary that a new heir to the throne be named. To the best of our knowledge, Sennacherib was left at this point with four sons among whom to choose: Arda-Mulissi, Aššur-šuma-uṣabši, Aššur-ahu-uṣabši, and Esarhaddon.[7] The choice fell in the end upon Esarhaddon.

It was a surprising decision, since Esarhaddon was one of the younger surviving brothers—and would normally have been next in line for the succession. The texts offer no reason why older sons were passed over in favor of Esarhaddon. It seems likely that his mother Naqi'a, a powerful figure in the kingdom, had intervened on Esarhaddon's behalf,[8] but there is too little

[6] See [illegible] A letter published by Sonia Parpola, "A Letter from Sennacherib to Esarhaddon," *Iraq* 41 (1979): 31–34, concerns the kidnapping of Aššur-nadin-šumi and the Babylonian revolt. [illegible]

[7] Most recently [illegible] "Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal: A Question Among Brothers," in [illegible] Nineveh, 6 pp. [illegible] "Arda-Nisdi." In Sumerian, the name is "Arda-Mulissi." [illegible] Parpola, "The Murders of Sennacherib," in *Death in Mesopotamia*, Mesopotamian Series of the Copenhagen Assyriology [illegible]

[8] This is [illegible] a special point of Esarhaddon's age, commenting, "Among my brothers, I was the middle brother." Nin. A, Pl. 2. Like Esarhaddon, she was a champion of the principle of succession by the oldest surviving son in Assyria. [illegible] 22

[9] The possibility is suggested by the existence of Berossus that Sennacherib succeeded all the sons, but a different reading than that of the translation: "He [Sennacherib] was assassinated by his son Adramelech. But Axerdis, his brother, killed his father Adramelech." Stanley M. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 25, 50. The name of the avenger, "Axerdis," seems to be a slightly garbled rendering of the name "Esarhaddon." Further confirmation

evidence to permit any firm conclusions. (See plate 1, page 9, for an unusual bronze plaque depicting Naqi'a together with an Assyrian king, who is probably Esarhaddon, to judge from the accompanying inscription.) Perhaps it was to pave the way for the unorthodox naming of a younger son as heir that Sennacherib changed Esarhaddon's name from Esarhaddon, an Akkadian, Aššur-aḫa-iddina, meaning "Aššur has given a brother," a younger brother's name, to the more impressive name Aššur-etel-ilani-mukin-apli ("Aššur, prince of the gods, is establishing an heir"), a name that suggests his owner's status as heir to the throne. By happy chance a text commemorating this change of name has survived. It is an odd document, sometimes referred to as the "Will of Sennacherib," but clearly not a will, in which Sennacherib records the gift of various jewelry and a manuscript to Esarhaddon, his son, who hereafter shall be named Aššur-etel-ilani-mukin-apli, a slightly shortened form of the crown prince's new name.[7] The gods, the text says, are bestowing upon Bit-Asuki. This document, unfortunately, does not provide a clue to the date of the document, nor to the date of Esarhaddon's renaming, since the Bit-Amukani tribe was defeated by Sennacherib several times during his reign. Whatever its date, the "Will" seems to mark Esarhaddon's change in status from younger son to probable heir to the throne.

Esarhaddon's own inscriptions offer the only surviving record of the next step, his formal selection as heir and his public installation in that position. The account comes down to us in the set of dedicatory inscriptions for a palace and arsenal complex built by Esarhaddon at Nineveh in the latter part of his reign. We will see later that there are significant differences among these inscriptions, but for our purposes here it is sufficient to extract Esarhaddon's account of his accession and treat it as a single text, since it is identical in each

is provided by the scribal attached to a text listing Esarhaddon's royal titles. Perhaps in this connection the "Month of Sennacherib." [illegible]

[illegible] This text [illegible] remarkably some of the [illegible] kings [illegible] which are all [illegible] crown prince [illegible] at Nineveh (Nineveh [illegible]) inscriptions [illegible] small objects, a small stone tablet [illegible] identical and are published together as Assur [illegible] Esarhaddon's titles as king. The new name appears [illegible] Esarhaddon's daughter, who is writing to her father to request [illegible] be that of a daughter of the reigning king. Esarhaddon's first name [illegible] rather Esarhaddon with full royal titles, as well as with his [illegible] name. The use of the name of a deity, a genre that seems to reflect spoken usage, suggests that the king's new name was used in spoken sources as well as in the few written examples known to us. It also implies that the new name was the more impressive of Esarhaddon's names—the one most likely to put a son-in-law in his place.

of the texts in which it appears.[illegible] Despite some obvious omissions which underlain the selective nature of the account they present, the Nineveh inscriptions provide at least an outline of the events which brought Esarhaddon to the throne.

The account begins by emphasizing the legitimacy of Esarhaddon's selection as heir to the throne, despite the problems which later resulted. It concedes at the outset that Esarhaddon was younger than his brothers but asserts that Sennacherib nevertheless chose him and announced him as their apparent. [illegible] is accordingly confirmed by the gods.

> [illegible] Ashur, [illegible] Sin, [illegible] Nabu and Adad [illegible] the gods Nabu and Adad [illegible] the presence of Ninlil [illegible]

Although this inscription [illegible] Assyrian inscriptions usually reserved for emphasis [illegible] the space of the chapter. [illegible] and [illegible] upon the reader the [illegible] approval of Nabu, Ninlil and all the major gods, a point that the [illegible] emphasizes by adding [illegible] Nabu, Ninlil, honored their [illegible] and [illegible] the general approval of Esarhaddon's appointment [illegible] on the part of the reader and suggests that [illegible] opposition to Esarhaddon's unconventional appointment [illegible] the [illegible].

[illegible] Assurbanipal, in his [illegible] accounts [illegible] supporters among the [illegible] of Assyria — people such as officials, army officers, [illegible] and [illegible] for whom it was expedient [illegible] relationship with the future king and his personal [illegible] the younger princes, [illegible] supporters and [illegible] would in all likelihood [illegible] Where Sennacherib broke with normal

[illegible]

precedent and named Esarhaddon as heir, he risked antagonizing not only the princes he had passed over, but their supporters as well, a substantial and influential group of people.

It was probably to counter their expected opposition and to force support for Esarhaddon that Sennacherib conceived the idea of a national oath-taking ceremony and formal induction into the *šu'ādūte* for the new heir.[7] This is the significance of the new title now given the crown prince: *mār šarrūti ša bīt ridīti*, "[great, or pre-eminent] king's son, of the Succession House," a title created for this occasion.[8] The *bīt ridīti*, or House of Succession, was already an established center of Assyrian royal activity. Sennacherib had lived there as crown prince and king, and Esarhaddon himself had been born and raised there.[9] Sennacherib's innovation was to add a solemn ceremonial entry into the *bīt ridīti* that would publicly confirm Esarhaddon's still shaky status as heir to the throne.

As the final touch, Esarhaddon's entry into the *bīt ridīti* was preceded by a national oath-taking ceremony:

> [Ma]ny times assembled the people of Assyria, young and old, together with my brothers, the seed of my father, I made them swear by Assur, Sin, Nabû, and Marduk, the gods of Assyria, the gods in heaven and earth, he made them swear a solemn oath to guard my claim to succession. Nin. A and L. Episode 1, lines 19–24.

A small tablet, now badly fragmented, may be a record of the oath itself. It binds the oath-taker to protect someone—apparently the crown prince, "and the other princes" at Sennacherib's command, and responses "an irredeemable, grievous curse" on anyone who fails to do so.[10] In a world in which might, causes, and the ill will of the gods were understood to be the source of most illness and misfortune, such an oath would have carried considerable weight. Esarhaddon's account continues: "In a propitious month, on a favorable day, in accordance with the lofty command of the gods, I, my king, entered the *bīt ridīti*, that awesome place in whose midst kingship is bestowed." (Nin. A and

[7] The discovery of a tablet of the text of the oath, which was found in a mass excavation which took place during Esarhaddon's reign, [illegible] the ceremony for his own use. It was experimental, perhaps, [illegible] and the new heir introduced a generation earlier by Sennacherib to bolster the precarious position of Esarhaddon himself.

[8] See [illegible] p. 156.

[9] See Assurbanipal's Rassam cylinder inscription, Streck [illegible] II, p. 4, l. 23–24. The *bīt ridīti* plan [illegible] to gain practical experience in [illegible] Sennacherib's [illegible] Esarhaddon's [illegible] (712–704) at Meqo'pania. See [illegible] p. 323 in [illegible] *Lumina*, ed. Weippl [illegible] Moers.

[10] Sennacherib's Succession Treaty [illegible] Parpola and Kazuko Watanabe, [illegible] State Archives of Assyria, II

F. Epi. 2 [illegible] 2nd–4th. In concerning the *bit mātāti* Esarhaddon had normally assumed the role of crown prince of Assyria.

[illegible] to contain that Esarhaddon was actually appointed crown prince. The first engraved on a stone lion's head, records the gift of that stone head to Esarhaddon and refers to him as the *mār šarri* "[illegible] of pre-eminent [illegible]" a term which recalls the similar title *mār šarri rabi* "[illegible] of pre-eminent [illegible]" assigned earlier to his brother Assur-nadin-šumi and [illegible] crown prince. The second text, an [illegible] cylinder found at Nineveh, Nin. [illegible] records the dedication of a [illegible] for Esarhaddon and records name the full financial title of the crown prince, [illegible] of pre-eminence, king's son of the Nineveh House. Since these records [illegible] that refer to Esarhaddon as "crown prince" it seems likely that Esarhaddon's tenure as crown

[illegible]

prince was brief and probably should be placed near the end of Sennacherib's reign.[16]

Esarhaddon's brothers. Esarhaddon's account continues, responded to his appointment as crown prince by launching a campaign to discredit him:[17]

> Proper behavior[?] was lavished upon my brothers, our abandoning the gods they trusted in their covenantal oaths and plotted evil. And they conversed talk against me, slander, misleading statements in which were contrary to the will of the gods—lies and wickedness. They spoke malicious words against my back. (Nin. A, I.p. 2, ll. 24–29)

Whether there was any basis in fact for the accusations Esarhaddon's brothers leveled against him is impossible to determine, since the texts avoid telling us what they were; they were, however, evidently convincing to Sennacherib. The account reports, "They alienated from me, against the will of the gods, the heart of my father, which had been well-disposed toward me. Secretly his heart was merciful to me, his eyes remained fixed on my excellent kingship" (Nin. A, I.p. 2, ll. 29–31).[18]

Hidden in these lines is a significant admission. If it was only "secretly" (*šaplānu*) that Sennacherib remained committed to Esarhaddon's succession, why

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

it follows that public's Sennacherib had withdrawn his support from Esarhaddon as heir to the throne.

The situation became so difficult, in fact, that Esarhaddon apparently went into hiding. His account first describes Esarhaddon's conversation at his brother's instigation: "I communed with my heart and thought in my mind. 'Their actions are monstrous, and they have relied on their own ideas: what ungodly thing will they do?'" (ll. 32–34). The account then describes at some length Esarhaddon's prayers for guidance to the gods Assur and Marduk, "to whom treacherous words are an abomination," and asserts that the gods remained firmly on Esarhaddon's side. This passage, with its further emphasis on his brothers' unlikely behavior in contrast to his own pious and upright behavior, suggests by its deliberate tone that Esarhaddon had indeed been seriously disconsolate in Assyria by his brothers' machinations, a conclusion further supported by the concluding line of the passage, which contains the veiled admission that Esarhaddon had been going into hiding: "Then the gods made me dwell in a hidden place, "secluded" place and stretched their good shadows over me; they guarded me for the kingship" (Nin. A, Ep. 2, ll. 40–41). He was, as we will see, certainly in the north. In view of his statement that he was in a secluded place and his admission that Sennacherib was only "extremely well disposed toward him," it is unlikely that he had been assigned there to command border troops, something that might be part of the normal duties of a crown prince.

The location of the place to which Esarhaddon withdrew is not recorded in a later passage (Ep. 2, ll. 60ff.) describing Esarhaddon's return after his father's death, other than to where he had been in this period. The passage reports first that the road to Nineveh which he took on his return was difficult and was even snowbound in the month Sabatu (January–February). The second clause it offers is that his path was blocked by an opposing army, which tried to cross through Hangalbat,[a] a region in the plains to

[a] [illegible] Hal-Sharghi [illegible] Nineveh [illegible] Hangalbat. The same [illegible] Hal-Sharghi [illegible] Hangalbat [illegible] Hangalbat [illegible] Esarhaddon [illegible] Shalmaneser I (1274–1245), who also

the west of Assyria, around Nineveh on the tributaries that feed into the Habur River from the north. His hiding place, then, was beyond Hanigalbat and in mountainous regions where snow might be expected. An area of mountains lies to the north of Hanigalbat—the Malatya Mountains to the northwest, and the southern extensions of the Armenian highlands to the northeast; most of this region would be Esarhaddon's description. It is an area of high, wooded valleys, this day covered with snow in winter, an area which would have been hard for an army to traverse in winter, is the text describes, and which would have offered ideal hiding places from Assyrian political fugitives. Any of the local authorities in the region, whether in Kummuhu, Meizadu, or Subria, would have been potentially sympathetic to claimants of those to power in Assyria, all three, in fact, were to rebel against Assyria in the ensuing ten years, and Sobria's participation would be proved by the Assyrians of having sheltered fugitives from Assyria. Esarhaddon's strategical way to place somewhere in this area of mountains north of Hanigalbat, where he would be beyond the reach of his enemies in the Assyrian court and could prepare the military force he would need to claim the throne.[illegible]

In the meantime, events in Assyria proceeded. Its rapid return from Contemporary Assyrian sources are silent about the death of Sennacherib, but several Babylonian chronicles preserve an account of the murder and of the events that followed it:

> [illegible] Sennacherib, king of Assyria, was killed by his sons in a rebellion [illegible] Assyria. The rebellion continued in Assyria; the month Tebet, month [illegible] Adar, a total eclipse of the sun; [illegible] the month Arahsamna, Esarhaddon, his son, ascended the throne in Assyria. [illegible]

The Babylonian chronicle's report is correct but seems to be essentially accurate in reporting the death of Sennacherib at the hand of his sons. Both Greek and Hebrew sources confirm Sennacherib's murder.[illegible] Although it was Esar-

[illegible]

haddon who ultimately benefitted most from his father's death, it is now fairly well established that he was not responsible for the plot, which seems to have been engineered by another son, Arda-Mulissi.[12]

It was late in the winter of 681 that the plot to murder Sennacherib was successfully carried out.[13] The immediate result was a full-scale uprising. Esarhaddon's account passes over the murder in silence, but others write accounts of the subsequent fighting, supplementing the report of the Babylonian Chronicle: "Afterwards, my brothers fell into a mad rage and did what was not good in the sight of gods and men; they plotted evil. And they drew swords in Nineveh, without the gods' blessing. They hunted each other like goats over the excess of kingship" (Nin. A, i p. 2, ll. 41–44).

This account suggests that the uprising that followed the attack on the king had degenerated quickly into a war between factions supporting the various brothers as contenders for the throne. It adds: "The people of Assyria who had pronounced, with oil and water, the oath of the treaty to support my kingship before the great gods, did not go to their support" (Nin. A, i p. 2, ll. 51–52).

The passage implies that Esarhaddon, although out of favor, had not yet been officially deposed as crown prince; if we accept the evidence of the text, the oath to support Esarhaddon was still nominally in force and weakened support for his brothers.

According to Esarhaddon's account, word of the uprising was quickly carried by his supporters in Assyria to the place where he was encamped with his troops in the mountains. There are several ways in which he could have gathered such troops despite his relative isolation. It seems likely that his own personal troops came with him when he left Assyria, and he might also have brought with him, with or without his father's approval, any units from the main army that had been under his direct command. Once he had left Assyrian territory, Esarhaddon might also have been joined by fugitives from Assyrian justice and people who had otherwise fallen out of favor with the current Assyrian government. In addition, the authorities in the area where Esarhaddon had gone into hiding might well have thought it worthwhile to offer him support, as well. It is thus plausible that he had a body of troops at his disposal, as the accounts assert, but these forces must have been small in comparison to the massed army of Assyria that they would have to fight if any of the brothers succeeded in defeating his rivals and consolidating the armed forces. The momentary fragmentation of political and military force in Assyria offered Esarhaddon his best chance.

[12] The evidence for this account is largely presented by Simo Parpola, "The Murderer of Sennacherib," in *Death in Mesopotamia*, ed. Bertil Alster, 171–182.

[13] By modern reckoning, the murder took place late in January of the year 681.

His troops were in winter quarters, almost certainly dispersed among the mountain villages. Esarhaddon's account reports that he left quickly, not waiting to check over the equipment or collect provisions for an extended campaign:

> I did not delay for even one month or two days. I did not wait for my troops. I did not muster the royal guard. I did not supervise a review of the chariot horses and battle equipment. I did not lay out a stock of provisions for my campaign. The snow and cold of the month Sabatu, the severity of the winter, I did not fear, like a winged eagle I spread my wings to thrust aside my enemies. Despite the difficulties, with[in] I took the road to Nineveh. — Nin. A and D, Epis. 5, ll. 60–70

It was by then the month of Šabāṭu (January–February), the rebellion had been underway for at least ten days since Sennacherib's murder. Normally, Assyrian troops would have waited until spring and melting snow before moving in the mountains. Esarhaddon was counting on the element of surprise.

The inscription reports that as he reached the plains of Ḫanigalbat, northwest of Nineveh, he found the way blocked by his brothers' troops, "sharpening their swords" in preparation for him (ll. 70–71). The account of the battle that follows is somewhat confusing, but the outcome is clear:

> The fear of the great gods, my lord, drove them down, and when they saw the rush of my mighty attack, they became like statues. The goddess Irnina, lady of war and battle, who joyously gnashes[?] weapons and shatters bodies, broke their ranks. They gathered together, saying, "Let's run!" At her lofty command they kept running away in terror. Standing behind me like lambs, they trembled down and emplaced me to be their ruler. — Nin. A, Epis. 5, ll. 72–80

If we discount the effects of Ištar's intervention, how had Esarhaddon, whose troops were outnumbered, managed to win? First of all, Esarhaddon's sudden appearance had probably caught his brothers' armies before full preparations for confronting him could be completed. In addition, Esarhaddon's troops had a special incentive. They had not, his text says, taken time to gather provisions; they had no chance of winning a sustained war. Their success, and their lives, depended on winning in this single thrust. Some were, moreover, Esarhaddon's personal troops, loyal to him and his fortunes. They had every reason to attack with a fervor that unnerved their opponents. Faced with this determination and perhaps resolved by the clemency of Esarhaddon himself, his brothers' troops surrendered to Esarhaddon in groups, pledging to support him. Perhaps, as the text claims, the oath of fealty to Esarhaddon imposed earlier on the Assyrians among them had also added to their misgivings and made them tight-lips well. However we explain it, the gamble had paid off.

The text reports that when word of the defeat reached Nineveh, the body-

guards of the brothers died. The brothers themselves then fled the country, to Urartu, according to the Bible.[illegible] Esarhaddon marched toward the city with his enlarged army, crossed the Tigris "(as if it were the side-branch of a canal" (l. 86) and entered Nineveh on the eighth of the month Addaru (February–March) in the year 681 B.C.[illegible] Ten days later he was crowned king.[illegible]

The picture of Esarhaddon that most modern historians have drawn is that of a weak and vacillating king. Rene Labat, for example, has described Esarhaddon as "by nature indecisive, taking white-way "indecisive, superstitious, anxious, and often easy in the hands of his advisers."[illegible] The picture of the king that emerges from a close examination of his rise to power, however, is strikingly different. He appears in these events as a decisive leader who took advantage of a moment of crisis to seize the throne his brothers had tried to deny him.

The other important point to emerge from this reconstruction of Esarhaddon's rise to power is the precariousness of Esarhaddon's position at the outset of his reign. His brothers were in hiding somewhere in the north, so long as they remained free there was a constant danger of assassination attempts or new rebellions. Greatly outnumbered, Esarhaddon had won the support of much of the Assyrian army. To keep his throne he would need to regain the support of the political and administrative leaders of Assyria as well, reassuring those who had not actively turned to rebel and those who still harbored misgivings. Military victory had won him the throne; it remained to be seen if Esarhaddon would muster the political astuteness to consolidate his precarious position and hold the restless Assyrian empire together.

[illegible]

CHAPTER THREE

Babylonia at the Beginning of Esarhaddon's Reign

ESTABLISHING CONTROL OVER BABYLONIA WAS one of the most daunting problems Esarhaddon faced in the empire. Although the Babylonians [illegible] to Assyrian rule represented a formidable problem in itself, complicated by the shifting conditions that had come to characterize Babylonian political life. To understand the complexities of Babylonian relations with Assyria at the time of Esarhaddon's accession, it is necessary to trace the history of Babylonia's conflict with Assyria in some detail. Scarcely surprisingly, [illegible] that had emerged in the thirteenth century, with the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I's conquest of the city of Babylon [illegible] to take over Babylonia through client kings. After his death, however, Babylonia quickly reestablished independence, and in the centuries that followed, neither state dominated the other for any extended period, despite periods of conflict.[1] The twelfth century ends with the Assyrian king Ashur-bel-kala (1074–1056 B.C.) [illegible] into Babylonian territory. On campaigns [illegible] by raids into Assyrian territory by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar I (1125–1104 B.C.), the Babylonian king Marduk-nadin-ahhe's return of gods' statues from the Assyrian city of Ekallate was repaid almost immediately by an Assyrian raid on Babylon itself led by Tiglath-Pileser I (1115–1077).[2]

This period of mutual testing was followed by a long and rather sparsely documented period that seems to have been marked by relatively peaceful relations between the two states, encouraged by their mutual preoccupation with invading Aramaeans.[3] The accession of Šamši-Adad to the throne

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

of Babylonia late in the tenth century began a period of more active contact between the two states that Brinkman has characterized as a time of "battles, alliances, shifting of borders, and diplomatic marriages, most of which seem to have bound the two countries closer together."[11] By the mid-ninth century, friendship between the two states had become close enough that the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858–824) conducted two extensive campaigns in Babylonia in support of the legitimate Babylonian claimant to the throne, who in turn later supported Shalmaneser's son, Sharamshi-Adad V (823–811), against a widespread revolt in Assyria. This incident, however, provoked the beginning of a change in the once cordial relationship between the two states: the Babylonian king, in exchange for his support, imposed a demeaning treaty on Sharamshi-Adad, who later took his revenge by conducting four successive campaigns in Babylonia, taking the next two Babylonian kings in turn captive to Assyria. These abductions produced a period of near anarchy in Babylonia and a claim by Sharamshi-Adad to Assyrian suzerainty there, a claim never acknowledged in Babylonia itself. Assyria, however, was now increasingly aggressive in her relations with Babylonia. Both Adadnerari III (810–783) and Ashur-dan III (773–755) conducted further campaigns in Babylonian territory, while these campaigns were a mark of growing Assyrian power and influence in Babylonia, neither king pursued his advantage to the point of imposing direct Assyrian rule.

This changed with Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727). In the final years of his reign he defeated the Chaldean tribal leader and king of Babylonia, Nabû-nâṣir, and became the first Assyrian king in almost five centuries to rule as king of Babylonia and be acknowledged as king in later Babylonian traditions. Like earlier Assyrian kings, he made active efforts to win the friendship of the Babylonian clergy, contributing to Babylonian gods in eight Babylonian cities. There is some doubt about the extent of his control of Babylonia, however, since the native king, Nabû-nâṣir, remained free and apparently still in control of his capital city in Chaldea. That Tiglath-Pileser played the role of the Babylonian king in the ritual festival at Babylon in the two years in which he reigned over Babylonia is perhaps an indication of his partial acceptance of non-control in southern Babylonia. A stronger indication of Tiglath-Pileser's aggressive attitude to Babylonia is the fact that the dating formulae of Babylonian contract texts acknowledged him as king of Babylonia during the two years of his reign there, and later Babylonian king-lists also recognize him as Babylon's king in this period.[12] Tiglath-Pileser's reign marks the beginning of a series of Assyrian attempts to impose direct rule on

[11] [illegible]

[12] [illegible] 228–243 and [illegible]

[13] [illegible] 242

Babylonia, as well as the emergence of the Chaldeans as leaders in resisting those attempts.

Within six years of Tiglath-Pileser's death, the Babylonians were again independent, led by another Chaldean, Merodach-Baladan II, who emerged as the new leader of the Babylonian resistance.[8] Supported by a coalition of various groups in Babylonia, and with military aid from neighboring Elam, Merodach-Baladan managed to hold the throne of Babylon for nearly twelve years. It was not until 710 that the new Assyrian king, Sargon II (721–705), attacked the Babylonian coalition, finally defeating it a year later and formally reclaiming the throne of Babylon for Assyria. Merodach-Baladan's final stand against Sargon at his capital city of Dur-Jakin in 702 was a failure. He fled to Elam, leaving Sargon in control of Babylonia.

Babylonia's resistance to Assyrian rule persisted, however, reaching a climax in the reign of Sargon's successor, Sennacherib (704–681).[9] Early in the reign, Merodach-Baladan again assembled a coalition and revolted against Assyria, successfully repelling the first attack by the Assyrian army, only to suffer crushing defeat in a second engagement. Sennacherib then installed a native Babylonian named Bel-ibni as puppet king in Babylonia in an effort to end the revolts, only to see the arrangement collapse within three years, requiring another Assyrian campaign in Babylonia and the removal of Bel-ibni and his officers. Sennacherib's next arrangement for rule of Babylonia, the appointment of his own son, Assur-nadin-shumi, as king of Babylonia, lasted for only six years before Assur-nadin-shumi was kidnapped and killed, a development which incidentally opened the way for Esarhaddon's appointment as heir to the throne of Assyria, as we saw earlier. In Babylonia, Sennacherib succeeded in quickly deposing the new king, a puppet of the neighboring Elamites, but was almost at once faced with a further Chaldean king, who succeeded in forging another powerful Elamite-Babylonian coalition. Sennacherib's response was a long and bloody period of campaigning in Babylonia,[10] in which he finally succeeded in recomposing Assyrian rule, taking the city of Babylon itself in 689 after a prolonged siege. According to his own descriptions, Sennacherib was merciless in his punishment of the city, burning and plundering, destroying walls and temples, and finally flooding the ruins. For eight years until Sennacherib's death Babylonia was quiet, and it appeared

[8] For the complete [illegible]

[9] [illegible]

[10] Beginning [illegible]

that his relentless use of force might at last have ended the long series of Babylonian revolts against Assyrian rule.

When Esarhaddon came to the throne after Sennacherib's death, however, it was already apparent that Babylonian resistance had only been lying dormant, recovering strength. With the Assyrian army preoccupied by the civil war that had broken out in the month of Sennacherib's death, one of Merodach-Baladan's sons, Nabû-zer-kitti-lîšir, now leader of the Chaldean tribe of Bit-Jakin and successor of the Nabû-šumu-ukîn in southern Babylonia, had seized the opportunity to revolt. Campaigns to the Babylonian city of Ur, an important administrative center and partisan city under Assyrian control, in Assyria's first action had managed to suppress the revolt as the beginning of 680 and was engaged in setting up a new administration, but in the south the rebellious Nabû-zer-kitti-lîšir continued his struggle.

Recognizing the importance of suppressing the revolt before it could engulf all of Babylonia, Esarhaddon promptly dispatched Assyrian troops to attack the rebels in Bit-Jakin. Unfortunately for Assyria, the population of Ur remained loyal to Nabû-zer-kitti-lîšir and the rebels, and Nabû-zer-kitti-lîšir was able to withstand the Assyrian army without local support. Abandoned by his own people, he fled to his father Merodach-Baladan's land in the past based in Elam, across the border. Elam, however, the Elamites, whose king had recently died in a sudden illness, were apparently unwilling to risk direct confrontation with the Assyrians, they seized Nabû-zer-kitti-lîšir and put him to death with the rebels ending the revolt.[7] With this unexpected help, Esarhaddon had crushed the immediate threat, but given the long history of Babylonian revolts, he was not prepared to be at ease, a temporary respite.

The Assyrians urgently needed to establish a lasting peace with Babylonia. The scorched earth that repeatedly swept Babylonia had disrupted the southern trading network of which it was a part, depriving Assyria of a profitable source of revenue and trade goods. The cost of keeping troops available to deal with Babylonian revolts and the local Assyrian levies which such a revolt broke out were also taking their toll. Assyria's military situation in the empire at large put additional pressure on the king to resolve the problem of Babylonia. Sennacherib's campaigns had left hostile nearby on the borders of Egypt. Esarhaddon needed to pursue this advantage and attack Egypt itself in order to

[illegible]

[illegible] Matthew W. Stolper, "Political History" in [illegible] and Matthew W. Stolper (eds.), [illegible] Assyriological Studies, Languages, A Literary and Political Study.

[illegible] Brinkman, "Babylonia under the Assyrian Empire, 745–627 B.C." in [illegible] pp. 223–229.

and Egypt's repeated support of rebellions by Assyrian vassals on the Mediterranean coast.[7] Esarhaddon was probably aware in addition that trouble was already brewing among these western vassals. It was to erupt in open revolt against Assyria within the next three years, in the revolt of Sidon on the coast and of her allies Ashdod and Sin-ahu in Asia Minor. There were also problems in the eastern mountain regions, where the Assyrians were finding it increasingly difficult to collect the cavalry horses essential for their army.[8] Given the limited manpower resources of Assyria, Esarhaddon needed to have troops from Babylonia in order to deal with these and other problems. The position of Babylonia had become important for Assyria's prosperity, perhaps even for her survival.

After all these years of warfare, however, Babylonian resistance to Assyrian rule was deeply entrenched, and the complexities of the political situation in Babylonia compounded the problem of dealing with that resistance. Opposition to Assyria was being mounted not by a single group, the Babylonians, but by shifting coalitions of the various ethnic and political groups settled in Babylonia. Successful revolts against Assyria had usually involved alliances among three groups that together dominated Babylonian politics: the Elamites, Babylonia's neighbors to the east, who provided military knowhow and troops; the Chaldean and Aramean tribes of Babylonia, who provided both soldiers and political leadership; and the native Babylonians, whom the Assyrians identify as the citizens of the ancient cities, the people who distinguish as a separate and clearly recognizable social and political group, who provided money, additional troops, administrative expertise, and always the protection of their cities' massive walls. Together, these three groups made a formidable force, and Esarhaddon would have to deal with each of them in turn to create a lasting peace with Babylonia.

The first of the three, the Elamites, occupied an area that lay immediately to the east of Babylonia on the lowlands of what is now the Iranian province of Khuzistan and in the valleys, waterways, and highlands to their east and north.[9] For years the Elamites had made efforts to expand their sphere

[7] [illegible]

[8] [illegible]

[9] [illegible]

[illegible] influence into Babylonia at Assyrian expense, providing military support for Babylonian rebellions against Assyria and occasionally placing their own candidates on the Babylonian throne. Sennacherib's annals report, for example, that the Elamites had sent horsemen, officers, and 80,000 footmen to join the coalition army that unsuccessfully fought Sennacherib in 703.[illegible] Later in Sennacherib's reign, the Elamites had also aided in the kidnapping and death of Sennacherib's son Ashur-nadin-shumi,[illegible] had raided the Babylonian cities of Sippar and Uruk,[illegible] had briefly installed their own candidate as king of Babylonia,[illegible] and had even led the coalition army which defeated Sennacherib's army in battle at Halule.[illegible] Elam, in short, had proven to be a formidable and active opponent of Assyrian rule in Babylonia.

There was little Esarhaddon could do, however, to influence Elam's activities directly, aside from posing garrisons on Babylonia's borders to discourage Elamite incursions. Consequently, his best approach to the problem of Elamite interference in Babylonian affairs was to try to win over the Chaldean tribesmen and the native Babylonians, who were accessible to Esarhaddon because they lived in areas directly under Assyrian rule and whom the Elamites would need as allies in any attempt to take control of Babylonia. If Esarhaddon could succeed in winning the support of these two groups, Elam would be isolated and unable to undermine Assyria's control of the south.[illegible]

This, however, was easier said than done. The Chaldeans, and the Aramaeans with whom they were frequently allied, represented a large and varied group of tribes, each under its own leaders and only loosely linked to one another by shifting military alliances.[illegible] Assyrian inscriptions, our main source

[illegible]

of information about these groups identify five distinct Chaldean tribes and some forty Aramean ones. Whether the two large groups of tribes were related to each other by kinship or language, as has sometimes been asserted, is unclear.[1] It is clear, however, that tribes from both groups, whatever their differences, frequently united in political and military relationships that were the basis of most anti-Assyrian coalitions in Babylonia.

The Aramean tribes were the first to appear in Babylonia, coming as border raiders in the closing centuries of the second millennium and settling in southern Babylonia by the late eighth century. Their language was West Semitic in pattern, but evidence about their precise place of origin is still lacking. Although many Aramean tribes joined in the anti-Assyrian rebellions of the eighth and early seventh centuries, providing troops for the coalition armies on several occasions,[2] they did not themselves organize or lead the revolts. The Aramean tribes, on the whole pawns in the Babylonian politics of Esarhaddon's day, were seldom the direct focus of Esarhaddon's Babylonian policy.[3]

Unlike the Arameans, the Chaldeans had quickly become leaders in Babylonian politics. Appearing in Babylonia in the early ninth century, again from a location that is still unknown, the Chaldeans provided a total of six kings to govern Babylonia in the century before Esarhaddon's reign.[4] Beginning

[1] See, e.g., J. A. Brinkman, "Notes on Aramaeans and Neighboring Peoples in Southern Babylonia in the Late Second Millennium B.C.," [illegible] Brinkman, "Notes on Aramaeans and Neighboring Peoples in Southern Babylonia in the Late Second Millennium B.C.," [illegible] Brinkman also indicates that the Chaldean language was a dialect of Aramaic, but this is not universally accepted.

[2] Although Dietrich Sturm, "Die Aramäer in Babylonien," [illegible] Sturm, "Die Aramäer in Babylonien," [illegible] the Aramean tribes participated in the anti-Assyrian rebellions of the eighth and early seventh centuries, providing troops for the coalition armies on several occasions, they did not themselves organize or lead the revolts. The Aramean tribes, on the whole pawns in the Babylonian politics of Esarhaddon's day, were seldom the direct focus of Esarhaddon's Babylonian policy. Aramean tribes [illegible] Chaldean groups [illegible]

[3] [illegible] Sturm, "Die Aramäer in Babylonien," [illegible] Sturm, "Die Aramäer in Babylonien," [illegible] Aramean tribes [illegible] Sturm, "Die Aramäer in Babylonien," [illegible] Sturm, "Die Aramäer in Babylonien," [illegible] Aramean tribes [illegible]

[4] [illegible] Aramean tribes [illegible] Babylonia [illegible] Esarhaddon's [illegible] Aramean tribes [illegible] Sturm, "Die Aramäer in Babylonien," [illegible] Sturm, "Die Aramäer in Babylonien," [illegible] Babylonian politics.

[5] The Babylonian kings Marduk-[illegible] Sturm, "Die Aramäer in Babylonien," [illegible] Sturm, "Die Aramäer in Babylonien," [illegible] Sturm, "Die Aramäer in Babylonien," [illegible]

with the reports of Shalmaneser III's campaign of 850 against the three major Chaldean tribes (Bit-Jakin, Bit-Amukani, and Bit-Dakkuri), the Chaldean tribes began to appear frequently in Assyrian annals, usually as Assyria's opponents.

By the time of Sargon II (721–705), the tribe of Bit-Jakin, settled in the swamps Southland near deep in southern Babylonia, had emerged as the leader of the Chaldeans, quickly becoming the dominant force in Babylonia as a whole. Its chief, Merodach-Baladan II, ruled all Babylonia as king from 721 to 710 and again briefly in 703, organizing the large contingents of Elamites, Arameans, Chaldeans, and urban Babylonians that were necessary to hold the Assyrian military machine at bay. We have already seen that Merodach-Baladan was Sennacherib's principal opponent in Babylonia, and that when he withdrew from active political life after his defeat in 700 his son Nabu-zer-kiti-lisir continued Bit-Jakin's leadership of the anti-Assyrian coalition. Of all the tribal groups, it was the Chaldeans, and in particular Bit-Jakin, with whom Esarhaddon needed to come to terms if he was to establish a lasting peace in Babylonia.

The Elamites refused to grant Nabu-zer-kiti-lisir asylum and specially provided Esarhaddon with the opportunity he needed for dealing with Bit-Jakin. At the same time, Nabu-zer-kiti-lisir's brother, Na'id-Marduk, who had deserted him for asylum, managed to slip through the Elamite hands and flee to Assyria, where he now threw himself on the mercy of Esarhaddon. Esarhaddon, recognizing an opportunity to make common cause with Bit-Jakin, at last pardoned Na'id-Marduk and appointed him Assyrian governor of the Southland, the area of Babylonia in which Bit-Jakin had its headquarters seat.

The Elamites and Arameans commentarially provided Esarhaddon with the lever he needed to make Bit-Jakin a loyal ally. Although the Elamites quickly realized their mistake by making alliance with yet another son of Merodach-Baladan and proposing him to the elders of Bit-Jakin as the new leader of that tribe, it was too late to make amends. The elders of Bit-Jakin, perhaps suspecting that Assyria now had the upper hand in Babylonia, rejected the proposed alliance with Elam and instead assured their support

for Nabû-Marduk and thus for alliance with Assyria? Nabû-Marduk now had strong incentives to remain faithful to his pact with Esarhaddon. With the memory of his brother's death and of his own flight from Elam still fresh in his mind, he would have been reluctant to depend on the Elamites again in the future, and the Elamites' unsuccessful attempt to sponsor his surviving brother instead of himself as heir of Bît-Jakin would surely have driven the wedge between Elam and Nabû-Marduk even deeper. No record survives of the agreement Esarhaddon made with Nabû-Marduk, but it evidently granted Nabû-Marduk sufficient power and prestige in the Southland not only to make him accept the post—of course he had little choice at this point—but also to win his continued loyalty. The process of Merodach-Baladan's ouster was thus ended for now, and Bît-Jakin led no further revolts against Assyria in Esarhaddon's reign.

This agreement with Bît-Jakin was a fortunate point for Assyria. The Elamites were now isolated from Babylonian affairs by their estrangement from Nabû-Marduk, while Nabû-Marduk's role in Assyrian government of the Southland meant that the opposition of his tribe to Assyrian rule was reduced as well. Without Bît-Jakin's leadership, attempts by other Chaldean tribes, such as Bît-Dakkuri, to form a coalition against Assyria proved, as we have seen, ineffectual. Within a year of his accession, Esarhaddon thus found

[illegible]

himself in a situation in which both the Elamites and the Chaldeans were effectively neutralized as anti-Assyrian forces in Babylonian politics.

It was to the third powerful group in Babylonian politics, the citizens of the ancient city-centers, that Esarhaddon now turned his attentions, and it was this group which was to become the focus of his public relations program throughout the reign. The citizens of the long-established cities, who constituted the older Babylonian native stock—if one can use the term "native" for any people in such a melting pot—were a complex ethnic mixture, blended by centuries of intermarriage within the cities. In the Assyrians' eyes, however, they were a distinctive sociopolitical group, distinct from other groups more recently settled in the cities. Sennacherib, for example, reporting on his first Babylonian campaign, lists as his captives, "Arabs, Arameans, and Chaldeans, who were in Uruk, Sippar, Kish, Hursagkalamma, Kutha and Sippar, together with the citizens of each city, [illegible]."

Although the Chaldeans had become increasingly influential in Babylonian political life, this native Babylonian population remained an active force important to anyone seeking control of Babylonia. In the seventy-five years preceding Esarhaddon's reign, several kings of Babylonia had come from native Babylonian stock, perhaps not as many kings as the Chaldeans had provided, but enough to establish that the native Babylonian population remained a force to be reckoned with in Babylonian national politics. In local politics as well, certain powerful families from the old Babylonian population seem to have provided key civil and religious administrators for their cities for generations.[illegible] A situation which, it was stated, the case in Esarhaddon's

[illegible]

time, would have made such leading families a powerful political network. While it is not yet established that major posts were the property of particular families in Esarhaddon's day, it is in any case likely that families whose members had professional training and had held professional or administrative posts provided the pool from which leaders for each city were largely drawn, generation after generation.

The native Babylonians who largely controlled the life of the cities were important from a military point of view as well. Although the major Babylonian cities sometimes supported the Assyrians in time of war, most of them had at one time or another been important factors in revolts against Assyria as well, refusing to open city gates to the Assyrian armies and supplying troops and assembly points for the rebel effort despite the severe punishment such cities routinely received from Assyria when rebellions failed.[11] As strongholds from which to fight or refuges into which threatened armies could retreat, the cities were a valuable military resource. Merodach-Baladan II's effective use of cities during Sennacherib's first campaign against him is an example of their central importance. When Sennacherib advanced into Babylonia, Merodach-Baladan assembled his coalition army, "brought them together into Kutha, and from there observed the advance of Sennacherib's army."[12] As the Assyrians approached, Merodach-Baladan led half of his army into the city of Kish, trying to entice the Assyrian army to divide and secure both strongholds to prevent being attacked from the rear, a strategy that nearly won the day for the Chaldeans.[13] If Esarhaddon could win the support of the cities, it would clearly be much more difficult for rebels to sustain a revolt against him.

In times of peace, the cities were equally important because they were the natural and traditional administrative centers for their districts. Esarhaddon, like previous Assyrian kings of Babylonia, chose to adopt the traditional city-based pattern of administration, a decision that made the cities of central importance to him. Babylon, for example, ruled by an Assyrian-appointed governor, became the hub of an administrative district that included the cities of Kish, Sippar, and (until late in the reign) Borsippa,[14] with their surrounding

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

territories. Other cities, including Nippur, Ur, Uruk, and Borsippa at the end of the reign, served as administrative centers for provinces in Esarhaddon's reign, under the supervision of Assyrian-appointed administrators.[27]

Many of these Assyrian-appointed administrators were themselves native Babylonians resident in the cities. Esarhaddon's governor of Ur, for example, a man named Nergal-eṣ-ṣabat, was a member of an upper-class Babylonian family from the Sealand area.[28] The eponym, or local governor, of Borsippa during Esarhaddon's reign was Nabû-zēr-kāṣir, a member of the Arkat-ilī-dannu family, which had already provided one governor for Borsippa and was to dominate government there for generations. The chief administrator of the Borsippa temple under Esarhaddon, Nabû-nadin-šumi, was likewise a member of an important family, who identified themselves as the descendants of a certain Nūr-Papsukkal.[29] Urbani, Esarhaddon's appointee as governor of Babylon, was probably also Babylonian, although nothing is explicitly stated about his lineage, the name Urbani is rare in Assyrian writings on this period, but common in a Babylonian context.[30] The appointment of such people suggests that Esarhaddon was sensitive to the advantages of using as administrators people who were already accepted as leaders in the community.

Many middle- and lower-level officials under Esarhaddon must also have been Babylonians, as a matter of practical necessity. Various activities in which the Assyrian government played a role, such as the administration of Babylonian temples, required people with specialized local knowledge.[31] In particular, the storage and distribution of water for irrigation, a major activity of government in Babylonia, demanded the use of local people experienced in the workings of an intricate irrigation system.[32] Officials such as bookkeepers and irrigation supervisors would be much more effective if they already knew the farmers and landowners they were working with, their jobs moreover required experience in technical matters, such as how to manage damage from silting.[33] The resulting involvement of Babylonians in Esarhaddon's Palys-

[27] [illegible]

[28] [illegible]

[29] [illegible]

[30] For [illegible] see [illegible] 17 [illegible]

[31] [illegible]

[32] The Esarhaddon [illegible] Babylonian temples [illegible] LAS 251 [illegible] LAS 276–287. Esarhaddon's personnel [illegible] Babylonia [illegible] temple, [illegible] Esarhaddon's behalf.

[33] For an example of the complexities of administering water distribution in Babylonia, see

[illegible] administration on all levels, as well as the strategic importance of the cities and their pivotal role in Babylonian politics, made it crucial that Esarhaddon win the cooperation of the Babylonian cities and their leaders, rather than attempting to rule by force alone.

Although it may seem at first glance unlikely, Esarhaddon in fact had a reasonable chance of eventually winning such support. In the first place, the inhabitants of the cities had suffered greatly in the Assyrian campaigns of recent years. Sennacherib's text, for example, boasts that in a single campaign Bel-Ibni, he had taken prisoners from the vassal Kudru, looted the palace of Babylon, captured and burnt 88 walled cities and 820 hamlets in Chaldean Babylonia, returned to despoil the cities of Uruk, Nippur, Kish and Ḫarsagkalamma, and had eventually departed with a booty of 208,000 men, 7,200 horses and mules, 11,073 donkeys, 5,230 camels, 80,100 cattle and 800,100 sheep and goats, as well as the booty that his soldiers carried off for their personal use.[7] Even if these figures are inflated, the basic message such accounts convey is probably reliable: that Babylonia had paid an enormous price in the last twenty-five years both economically and in loss of its cities for its continued resistance to Assyrian rule. There can be little doubt that the Babylonians would have welcomed a period of peace and plundering. In addition, Esarhaddon had the advantage that he himself had never engaged the Babylonians in warfare, since the rebellion at the beginning of his reign had collapsed before any major military encounter occurred. He could present himself with more credibility than his predecessors as a friend of the Babylonians. Moreover, the political situation in Babylonia was for the moment favorable, the centralization of the Chaldeans and the defection of the Chaldeans to Assyria left the native Babylonians well-nigh free from their positive support. Esarhaddon began a program of actions and statements designed to present himself to the Babylonians as an acceptable Babylonian king and to demonstrate to them the benefits that could come with Assyrian rule. The keystone of this effort was an extensive program of cities and public works, beginning with the rebuilding of the city of Babylon itself.

[illegible]

[illegible]

CHAPTER FOUR

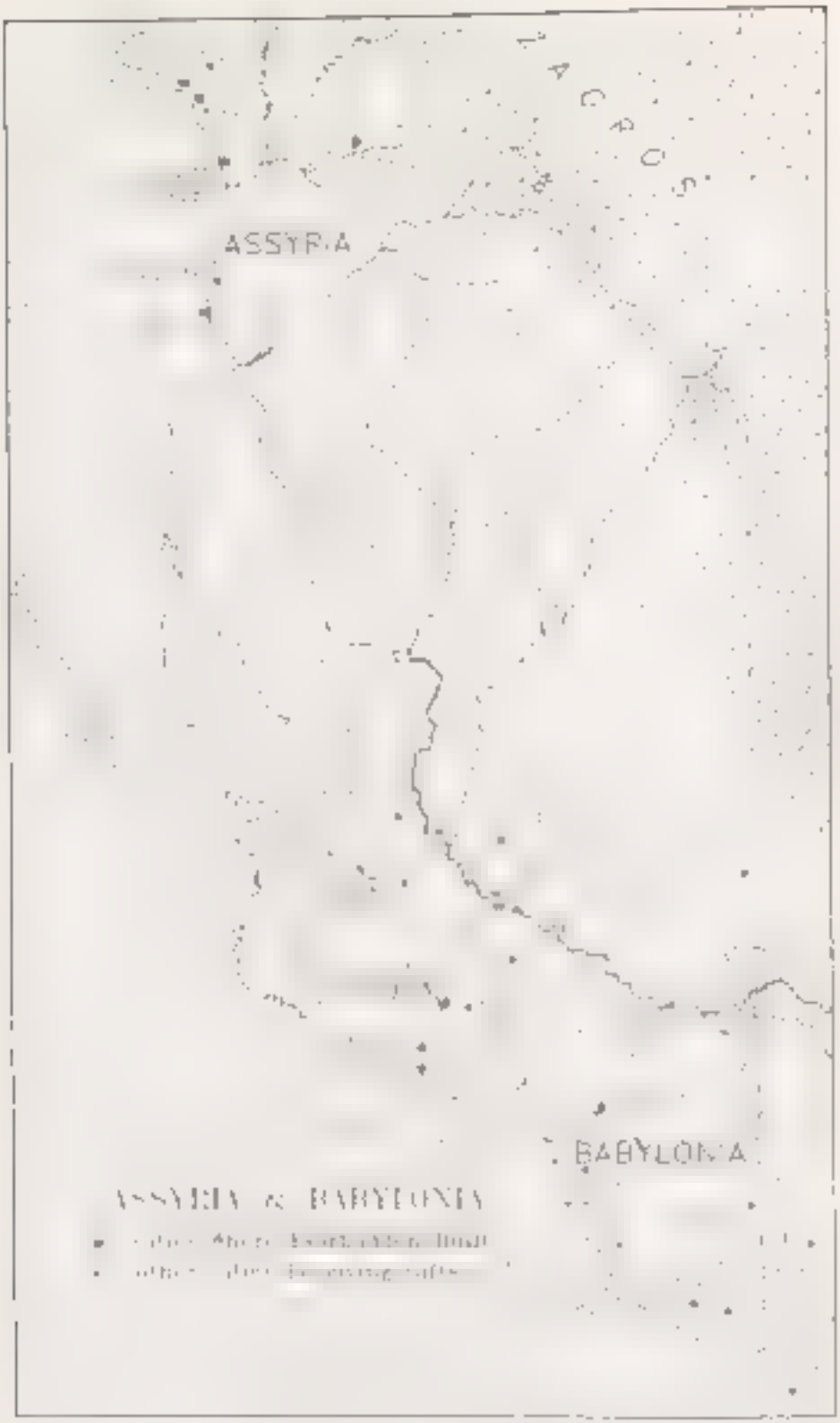
Gifts and Public Works Projects in Babylonia and Assyria

AS PART OF HIS EFFORT TO WIN THE SUPPORT of the traditional city-centers, Esarhaddon became a major patron of building projects in Babylonia, sponsoring the construction or restoration of some eight Babylonian temples, far more than any Assyrian king before him. The effect of this building program, and of the gifts and royal favors that accompanied it, was to provide tangible evidence of the benefits of Assyrian rule, evidence that would be widely visible to urban dwellers throughout Babylonia. In rebuilding and redecorating temples in Babylonia's major cities, Esarhaddon was suggesting in a concrete and visible way that he would rule Babylonia as generously as if he were indeed a native king, rather than a foreign overlord.

The centerpiece of Esarhaddon's building program in Babylonia was the rebuilding of the city of Babylon and of its main religious center, the temple of the god Marduk, known as Esagila, and the adjoining temple-tower, or "ziggurat," complex, known as Etemenanki, both of which had been heavily damaged in Sennacherib's attack nine years before. The city of Babylon had a special importance, as had been the religious and political center of Babylonia for many generations. In the previous reign, Sennacherib had attempted to undermine the political independence of Babylonia as a whole by attacking and partly destroying the city. In proposing now to rebuild it, Esarhaddon was proposing to recreate the ancient locus of Babylonia's vitality as well as a nation, becoming himself the city's new patron, so that Babylon's regenerative force might draw the south together again, this time in support of Assyria.[7]

Plans for the project are described in the group of building inscriptions

[7] Simo Parpola, "The Murder of Sennacherib," in *Death in Mesopotamia: Mesopotamian Medicine and Mortality*, ed. Bendt Alster, 171 n. 41, suggests a good [illegible] Esarhaddon to rebuild the south's great temples. The Series AB [illegible] that had been applied to Esarhaddon, predicting that the king would escape the throne from a prince who would rebel against his father, and that Esarhaddon would then restore the temples of the great gods. Parpola notes that the conventional events [illegible], although quite rare, had actually been observed in the [illegible] "Marduk," and had been regarded as the first part of the resulting prophecy. Since Esarhaddon's defeat of his brothers in Urartu, there was strong incentive [illegible] rather by fulfilling the second part of the prophecy as well.



Assyria and Babylonia

that Borger labels "Babylon A–C." Like most Assyrian building inscriptions, these texts are proleptic, set in the past tense as a matter of conventions, but actually describing work that was only beginning at the time when the first of these texts were composed, probably in the year 689, while the texts describe how the repair of Babylon and its temples had already been completed. As we will see, most of these texts, like other building inscriptions, were probably buried as foundation deposits in walls or under floors during the initial stages of reconstructing the various parts of the buildings—a point whose significance will be discussed at greater length below. To complicate matters further, assigning dates to each copy of the various building inscriptions for Babylon is a complex problem; the reasons for concluding that most of them should be assigned to the first few years of the reign are discussed in detail in Appendix II. Because of their early dates and because of their proleptic nature, it seems clear that most of the Babylon building inscriptions, although they celebrate the completed restoration of the city, were actually written when the project was just beginning and much of the work was still in the planning stages.[11] Rebuilding the city of Babylon, as these texts describe it, was a formidable project. It was to include the clearing away of debris from the damaged city, the rebuilding of its main temple, Esagila, the resettlement and reconstruction of the city itself, and the rebuilding of the city's two outer walls. The Babylon B text outlines the project: "Esagila, the palace of the gods, and its sanctuary, Babylon, the defiled city, Imgur-Enlil, its wall, and Nemet-Enlil, its outer wall—from their foundations to their battlements I caused to be built anew. I built them made great and high, and lordly" (Bab 10, Ep. 23). Other inscriptions fill out Esarhaddon's proposal in more detail. In them the king declares his intention to dig down to the original foundations of the Esagila temple and lay new foundations following the ancient pattern (Bab A, B, and C, Ep. 30) and to add rich ornamentation to the buildings after basic construction was completed (Ep. 26, 27, 28, 29, and 31). The damaged statues of the gods of Babylon were to be replaced or repaired (Ep. 32), the huge ziggurat complex Etemenanki was to be rebuilt (Ep. 34), and, to crown it all, the people of Babylon, now scattered and enslaved, were to be returned to the city, their ancient freedoms restored, and their lands and goods returned (Ep. 37). It was an ambitious program.

The proposed rebuilding of the city was significant both practically and figuratively. As a statement of political policy, it proposed a reversal of

[11] The text announcement of the project is contained in Bab 10, which is a copy of Esarhaddon's proposal to Babylon. [illegible] discussion of the complete [illegible] Appendix II. It seems probable that preparatory work [illegible] the announcement, [illegible] Esarhaddon's intentions and underscored the relative [illegible] toward Babylon.

Sennacherib's punitive treatment of the city stem by stem. In figural terms, it permitted Esarhaddon to assume the role of a traditional Babylonian king. While Assyrian royal inscriptions of this period typically present Assyrian kings as both military leaders and builders, Babylonian inscriptions had long presented their kings almost exclusively as builders, as if building was in Babylonian eyes the quintessential royal activity. As Sylvia Lackenbacher demonstrates in her study of the topos of the builder king in Assyria, the image of the king as builder was one of great antiquity in southern Mesopotamia.[11] It had been the focus of Sumerian royal inscriptions since earliest times and had continued to be important in southern Mesopotamian royal inscriptions even after the ancient Sumerian cities had passed under Babylonian rule early in the second millennium.

Because the building and repair of temples was seen in Babylonia as one of the essential functions of a ruler and the mark of a proper king, it became particularly the focus of attention in times of difficult transitions. Over the centuries, it had become a pattern in the political life of southern Mesopotamia that the founder of a new dynasty would restore or embellish the ancient temples of Babylonia's major cities with assiduous attention in order to demonstrate that he was indeed a proper king and a legitimate successor to the southern traditions of kingship. Even as early as Sumerian times, for example, Ur-Nammu, founder of the Sumerian Third Dynasty of Ur after the collapse of the Sargonic empire around 2100, began his reign with a massive building program in honor of the chief gods of the city of Ur. He continued by reconstructing the temples of the national Sumerian deities Enlil and Ninlil in Nippur, and later by working on ancient sanctuaries in the cities of Eridu, Uruk, Larsa, Kish, and (probably) Umma. This program of building was instrumental in winning Ur-Nammu support from the politically powerful priesthood in Nippur, and eventually acceptance in southern Mesopotamia as a whole.[12] In similar fashion, Ilušu-Dagan, a member of the Isin Dynasty that took control of southern Mesopotamia after the collapse of the Third Dynasty of Ur, restored the damaged sanctuaries at Ur and also those of Nippur, an action that William W. Hallo has characterized as "a politically astute move designed to ingratiate the new dynasty with its Sumerian

[illegible]

[illegible] William W. Hallo [illegible] William W. Hallo and William Kelly Simpson, *The Ancient Near East* [illegible] 78.

subjects.[illegible] Hammurapi, founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon, continued the tradition with meticulous care: the Prologue to his law code records his gifts and restoration of the temples and divine statues of a long list of cities in southern Mesopotamia.[illegible] Three hundred years later the restoration of major temples remained an important gesture for new rulers in the Babylonian south. One of the first acts of Agum-kakrime, a founder of the new Kassite dynasty in Babylonia (ca. 1600), was to oversee lavish embellishments of the Babylonian god Marduk's temple and to arrange to bring the statues of Marduk and his consort back from foreign captivity, gestures that helped the kings of the new Kassite dynasty to win favor and to present themselves as legitimate successors to the native dynasty they were replacing.[illegible] Esarhaddon, like these rulers before him, followed a traditional Babylonian pattern of royal behavior by sponsoring royally sponsored building projects as he laid the foundation for his rule of Babylonia.

There was a direct Assyrian precedent for his actions, as well. Esarhaddon's immediate predecessors, Sargon II and Sennacherib, had already played to some extent upon this Babylonian tradition to encourage acceptance of their rule in Babylonia. Sargon, the first Assyrian king to sponsor building in Babylonia, had built a quay in Babylon along the Euphrates and constructed on it the city walls Nemet-Enlil and Imgur-Enlil. He had also sponsored construction in the city of Kish, had restored the temple Eanna in the city of Uruk, and had sponsored work on a canal connecting the cities of Borsippa and Babylon. Sennacherib, although his efforts were considerably more limited, had sponsored construction of a processional walkway in Babylon. The magnitude of Esarhaddon's proposed public works projects in Babylonia, however, far outstripped these earlier undertakings. By beginning with Babylon, and by proposing such major building projects there, Esarhaddon was presenting himself as the embodiment of Babylonia's royal traditions on a grand scale.

The extent of the project Esarhaddon was undertaking in proposing to restore Babylon was in part determined by the amount of damage Sennacherib had inflicted on the city in his last campaign. Unfortunately, the extent of this damage is difficult to establish, and there is still some debate about how much of the city of Babylon had actually been destroyed.[illegible] Sennacherib's own accounts report that the damage was extensive. One inscription reports, for example:

[illegible] *Pritchard*, 266.

[illegible] For a translation of the Prologue, see Theophile J. Meek, in [illegible] *Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 2nd ed., James B. Pritchard, ed. [illegible]

[illegible] Brinkman, [illegible] 222.

[illegible] See, for example, [illegible] Albert T. E. Olmstead, that the destruction of Babylon was [illegible] Sennacherib and Esarhaddon's descriptions of [illegible] and that Esarhaddon had only recently [illegible] Babylon, despite the claims of his predecessor

> [illegible] I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The wall and outer wall, temples and [illegible] I razed and dropped [illegible] Amargal-ukin, I brought the waters of that city [illegible] I destroyed, I made its destruction more complete than a flood's. That no one should [illegible] the place that city and its temples and gods might be remembered, I completely blotted it out with floods of water and made it like a meadow. (RIA 2, pp. 54–56, ll. 54–64)

A later document from Sennacherib's reign offers further detail:

> After I had destroyed Babylon, I had [illegible] that the gods had struck down, [illegible] the gods might be [illegible] I removed [illegible] to the [illegible] Dilmun, the Dilmuntites [illegible] upon them and they brought their tribute. (RIA [illegible])

It is clear that Sennacherib's accounts of the city's devastation are deliberately somewhat exaggerated, since they report, for example, that his soldiers dumped earth from the city into the river in such quantities that the resulting silting was seen at the island of Dilmun (modern Bahrain) in the Persian Gulf, some six hundred miles away.

While such claims make it clear that Sennacherib's purpose in these texts was something other than presenting a precise factual assessment of the extent of the destruction the city had suffered at his hands, other sources do confirm the basic accuracy of his description of these events. A contemporary account of Sennacherib's siege of Babylon, written in Babylonian itself, confirms beyond doubt that the siege of Babylon did occur and that the city suffered extensively from it. The text, a legal document dated at Babylon fifteen months before the fall of the city to Sennacherib, describes the city's plight in vivid terms:

> In the time of Mušezib-Marduk, king of Babylon, the land was gripped by huge famine. Hunger raged and [illegible] everything was changed and reduced to nothing. [illegible] themselves. The city gates were barred, and a person could not go out or in at the four directions. The corpses of men with no one to bury them, filled the squares of Babylon.[7]

A later letter, written to Esarhaddon by his newly-appointed governor of Babylon, confirms that Sennacherib's armies had plundered the city after its fall and deported some of the city's citizens.

[7] YBC [illegible] (1977, quoted in [illegible] A. Brinkman, "Sennacherib's Babylonian Problem," 93. The text is dated to month V, Lu, 28, year 5 of Mušezib-Marduk, that is, to August of the year 689

> I have entered Babylon. The Babylonians have received my hands and daily they bless the king, saying: "What a [illegible] and pious [illegible] Babylon he returned!" and from Sippar to Babylon, the people of the [illegible] bless the king, saying: "It is since when essential the prayer of Marduk." [illegible]

Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal's inscriptions also corroborate Sennacherib's descriptions of the damage to some extent. Esarhaddon's Babylon building inscriptions, for example, echo Sennacherib's accounts of flooding and report that waterlines were still evident almost ten years later: "Swamp reeds and willows grew thick in the midst of her and sent up shoots, birds of the heavens and fish of the sea beyond counting were there." (Bab. 6, 1 p. 7.) Both Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal's inscriptions offer indirect confirmation of the accuracy of Sennacherib's account by reporting that both kings undertook restoration projects in precisely those parts of the city in which Sennacherib claims to have inflicted the most damage: the walls, the temples, and the temple-tower of Esagila.[illegible]

None of these later descriptions, however, directly confirms that Sennacherib completely destroyed the walls and temples of Babylon, and the archeological evidence that would allow us to assess these claims is unfortunately equally inconclusive. There is relatively little evidence of extensive building on the city wall in the time of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal, as we will see,[illegible] but it is unclear whether this minimal work was a response to earlier damage to the wall or was simply routine maintenance. The samples similarly show no clear signs of destruction[illegible] this is not necessarily surprising, however, since we would expect the most of the debris resulting from any destruction would have been cleared away as part of massive preparations for repairing the damage, and their signs of destruction would have been further obscured by later restorations, which were extensive in the case of Esagila and Etemenanki.[illegible]

[illegible]

Central Babylon

Numbers refer to text, beginning on p. 54

Although the archeological evidence in the area of these public buildings is inconclusive, the one residential area of Babylon that was excavated, the section of the ruins now known as Merkes, does offer evidence that confirms Sennacherib's accounts to some extent, suggesting that houses were abandoned and the population of the city markedly diminished at roughly this time.[illegible] Merkes, one of the several mounds comprising the site of ancient Babylon, included numerous private houses as well as an Ishtar temple and some administrative offices. In the materials dating from the Assyrian period, a level of substantial houses in the area is followed by a layer of debris, that is, sand and clay mixed with shards of pottery, fragments of bricks, and occasional hearths and ashes. In the excavation report, Oscar Reuther suggested that this layer of debris might represent the period immediately after Sennacherib's destruction of the city in [illegible] The houses, except in two cases, do not seem to have been burned, as one would think likely from Sennacherib's accounts, but do show signs of abandonment.[illegible] After this abandonment, it appears that people returned to a few areas in this section of the city, living in rude huts that have left no traces except a few hearths. The archeological evidence from Merkes thus presents a picture that fits Sennacherib's account of his attack and the city's abandonment fairly well.[illegible]

destroyed, as, for example, [illegible] Kudurru, a commemorative [illegible] of the southern city of Dilmunkarak, indicate that [illegible] which [illegible] bricks of rubble [illegible] *Hauptstadt* [illegible] Assurnasirpal II [illegible] to rebuild the temple of old walls or make way for [illegible] the late [illegible] of the New Assyrian Walls.

[illegible] See Oscar Reuther, "Babylon," [illegible] the evidence. [illegible] report for Merkes (Oscar Reuther, "Die Ausgrabungen Robert Koldewey's," [illegible] Merkes, [illegible] 21 [illegible] and [illegible] the plan of Merkes [illegible]).

[illegible] Reuther [illegible] Babylon. [illegible] the reign of Sennacherib [illegible] beginning of the reign of Sennacherib [illegible] Reuther [illegible] debris of a more prosperous period [illegible] with [illegible] the city of Dur-Sharrukin [illegible] the reign of Esarhaddon [illegible] with the foundations of some [illegible] from the reign of Esarhaddon [illegible] Reuther [illegible] that is [illegible] relating to [illegible] There is not conclusive evidence [illegible] with Esarhaddon [illegible] Reuther [illegible] of the house. He proposed [illegible] probably [illegible] highlight the city [illegible] Sennacherib's attack [illegible] some supporting evidence for Sennacherib's description of the destruction of the city.

[illegible] which is the house [illegible] in [illegible] by Reuther, *Babylonien*, [illegible]

[illegible] There is only one reference in the excavation report to possible evidence of flooding, a reference to river mud found in the temple area. An Ishtar Assurnasirpal [illegible] in the inventory list as [illegible] Weber, [illegible] and Wetzel, *Hauptstadt* [illegible] plate [illegible] a little column of tiles, in a deposit of river mud. The location is French [illegible] which parallels the

Beyond this general confirmation of Sennacherib's attack, however, neither the archeological nor the documentary evidence allows us to measure the extent of the damage he inflicted with any degree of certainty. It is, however, clear that the attack is central, and the details of Sennacherib's account, although they cannot be independently confirmed, have a certain credibility, since they describe Sennacherib's redoing what one would logically expect—destroying the walls to make self-defense impossible and discourage rebellion, and destroying temples and statues of the city's gods to demoralize the city and undercut its attractiveness as a religious and political center. It seems reasonable to conclude that Esarhaddon's relatively moderate accounts of the city's plight at the beginning of his reign can be accepted as fairly accurate. This gives us a rough idea of Esarhaddon's starting point in his program to rebuild Babylon. He needed to clear away debris, perhaps drain water from the low-lying areas where Esagila and Etemenanki are located, and then fulfill his promise to rebuild the city—reconstruct its two fortification walls, and restore the religious centers Esagila and Etemenanki.

To what extent did Esarhaddon actually undertake and complete these projects? The question is not easily resolved because Assurbanipal, Esarhaddon's son, also claimed credit for major rebuilding projects in Babylon. In many cases the same projects that Esarhaddon claims to have done at Esagila, Etemenanki, and the city walls he claims for himself apparently contradicting claims. It has sometimes been argued that Esarhaddon did relatively little work in Babylon, despite his propaganda, and that it was instead his son Assurbanipal who was responsible for most of the reconstruction.[7] To resolve this question, we need to assess the documentary and archeological evidence for Assurbanipal's building projects in Babylon in order to establish what projects Assurbanipal actually worked on in the city. We can then compare that to the evidence for Esarhaddon's efforts, in order to assess the actual role of each king in the rebuilding.

Assurbanipal's inscriptions state clearly that he himself was responsible for the final steps in the city's reconstruction. His Cylinder C inscription, for example, reports: "The temples of Assur and Akkad (i.e., Babylonia), which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, my father, who begotten me, had laid the foundations, but not completed, I at the command of the great gods, my lords, completed their work" (Streck, *Assurbanipal*, p. 146, No. 11, 4–6). More specifically, Assurbanipal claims to have laid new brickwork for Etemenanki and to have rebuilt the inner and outer city walls of Babylon. Other inscriptions

[illegible]

[7] [illegible]

repeat these claims and add detailed accounts of his work on the temple of Esagila and its chapels.[illegible]

Archaeological evidence from the city supports these claims. A total of twenty-six copies of Assurbanipal inscriptions were found still in place in the Esagila temple complex, confirming Assurbanipal's claims that he sponsored work on the temple.[illegible] Building activity by Assurbanipal is also evident in the area of the ziggurat Etemenanki; a total of eight bricks bearing inscriptions of Assurbanipal were found at various points in this area, one of them in the main gateway into the Etemenanki enclosure.[illegible] In addition, a series of bricks bearing Assurbanipal inscriptions commemorating his work on these two religious centers were found in other areas of the site as well, bringing the total of Assurbanipal-inscribed bricks found in the city to thirty-nine.[illegible] If one adds to these the ten Assurbanipal clay prisms discussed below, which commemorate his work on the city walls, it brings the grand total of Assurbanipal-inscribed objects found in Babylon to forty-nine, substantial evidence that the king sponsored construction in Babylon, particularly on Esagila and Etemenanki, the projects commemorated in his brick inscriptions.

The walls of the city are more difficult to assess, but here again the evidence suggests that Assurbanipal's claims are essentially correct. The walls of Babylon as they now stand date from the later Neo-Babylonian period.[illegible]

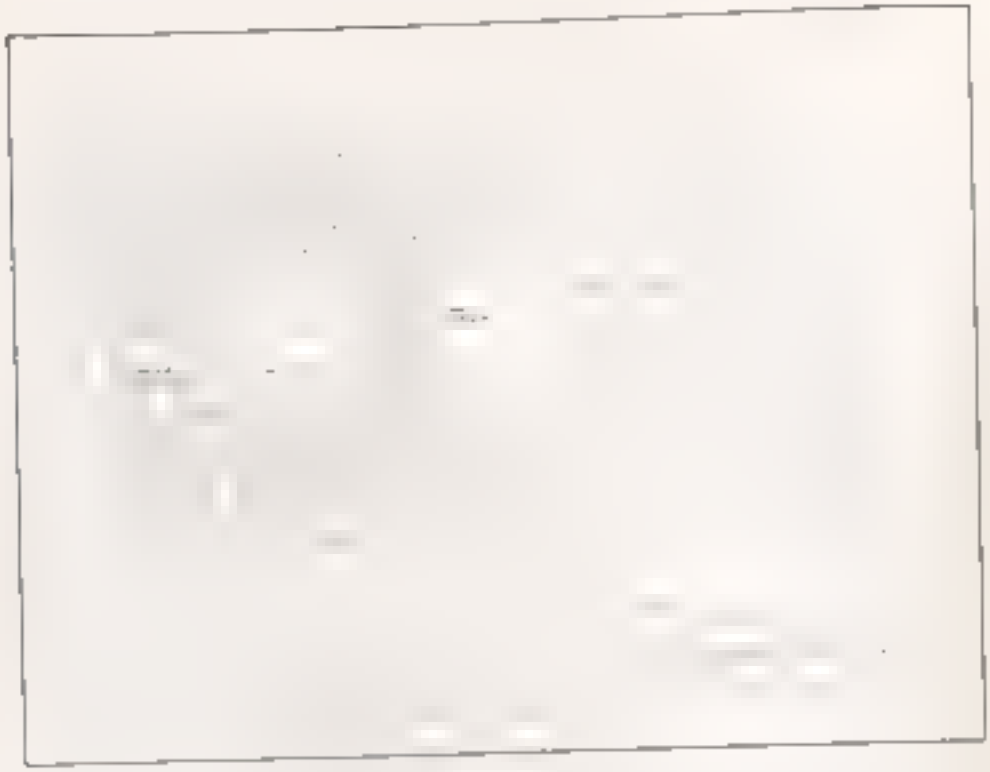
[illegible] Assurbanipal inscriptions [illegible] Streck [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] Esagila [illegible] Wetzel and Weissbach, *Hauptheiligtum* [illegible]

[illegible] Wetzel and Weissbach, [illegible] plate 8; Friedrich Wetzel, *Die Stadtmauern von Babylon* [illegible]

[illegible] These are included in the [illegible] Esagila [illegible] *Hauptheiligtum*.

[illegible] Friedrich Wetzel, *Die Stadtmauern von Babylon* [illegible] the sections of the walls identified by Wetzel as Neo-Babylonian.



Esagila

[illegible] p. 54

Although no building inscriptions, either of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal or of later kings, were found anywhere in the excavated parts of the walls,[19] few baked clay prisms with inscriptions describing Assurbanipal's building of the walls (Imgur-Enlil and Nemet-Enlil) were found elsewhere in the city.[20] Some of these were actually discovered encased in the wall as foundation deposits; most were found in close association with the inner city wall, and Friedrich Wetzel suggests in his excavation report that these prisms might have fallen here from the tower-wall or the nearby main wall when those walls collapsed in later times.[21] While the discovery of the prisms in these locations is not conclusive evidence that Assurbanipal worked on the walls, it does offer support to his claim. Overall, the archeological evidence corroborates Assurbanipal's assertions that he sponsored considerable construction work in Babylon, particularly on Esagila and Etemenanki, and probably on the city walls, as well

[19] [illegible]

[20] [illegible] Streck, Assurbanipal, II, 234 ff. [illegible] Charles Virolleaud, "Nouvelles [illegible] dans lesquels ils ont été trouvés," Revue d'assyriologie [illegible]

[21] [illegible]

When we compare this picture of Assurbanipal's efforts in Babylon to the one that emerges from the documentary and archeological evidence for Esarhaddon's building activity in Babylon, a surprisingly similar pattern emerges—once again supported by archeological evidence, as we will see. Like Assurbanipal, Esarhaddon claims to have built extensively in the temple of Esagila, rebuilding it, he says, "from its foundations to its battlements" (Bab. E., lgs. 26). He also claims to have rebuilt the ziggurat complex Etemenanki (Bab. C., lgs. 34) and to have reconstructed the city's inner and outer walls (Bab. A., C., E., and F., lgs. 35).

In Esagila, Esarhaddon's claims are corroborated by the discovery on site in the temple of three objects bearing Esarhaddon dedicatory inscriptions: the plan of Esagila, facing page 1, was found beside Assurbanipal inscriptions in the entryway to the temple complex, and a third in the paving of the Ea chapel beneath two layers of inscribed brick paving of Assurbanipal.[111] (For the inscriptions and precise locations of the objects discussed here, see the table on the next page.) An unusual addition to the evidence for Esarhaddon's attentions to Esagila is a lapis lazuli cylinder seal found in a collection of precious objects buried under the floor of a house from the later Parthian period, located near the temple; its inscription identifies the seal as a gift from Esarhaddon to the treasury of Esagila, evidence of the royal gifts that supplemented the temple's restorations.[112]

The reports of Esarhaddon's building activity in the temple-tower Etemenanki and its precincts are also corroborated by archeological evidence. In the Etemenanki complex itself, four bricks with Esarhaddon inscriptions were found *in situ*: at gate IV, a side gate leading from the east into the huge courtyard in which the temple-tower was located; in the area of gate IX, a gate leading from the south into the section of the courtyard facing the front of the ziggurat; and at a nearby point within the courtyard, just south of the ziggurat itself.[113] (See the plan of Etemenanki, page 55.)

[111] The inscriptions [illegible] Esarhaddon's [illegible] walls, or processional street [illegible] Esagila. The [illegible] Esarhaddon's [illegible] the inscriptions were uncovered by Robert Koldewey: [illegible] Esagila [illegible] Babylon [illegible] the plan of Esagila [illegible] the plan of Esagila, facing page [illegible] and 48 for the [illegible] of the [illegible] Esagila [illegible]

[112] [illegible] #[illegible] found at Sippar [illegible] and stamped with the Babylon Kings inscription; #[illegible] found [illegible] with the Babylon Kings inscription; and #[illegible] found [illegible] within the Etemenanki precinct, and stamped with the Babylon Kings inscription. Esarhaddon's construction of the processional street to Esagila [illegible] *Babylonian Kudurrus* list, 86.

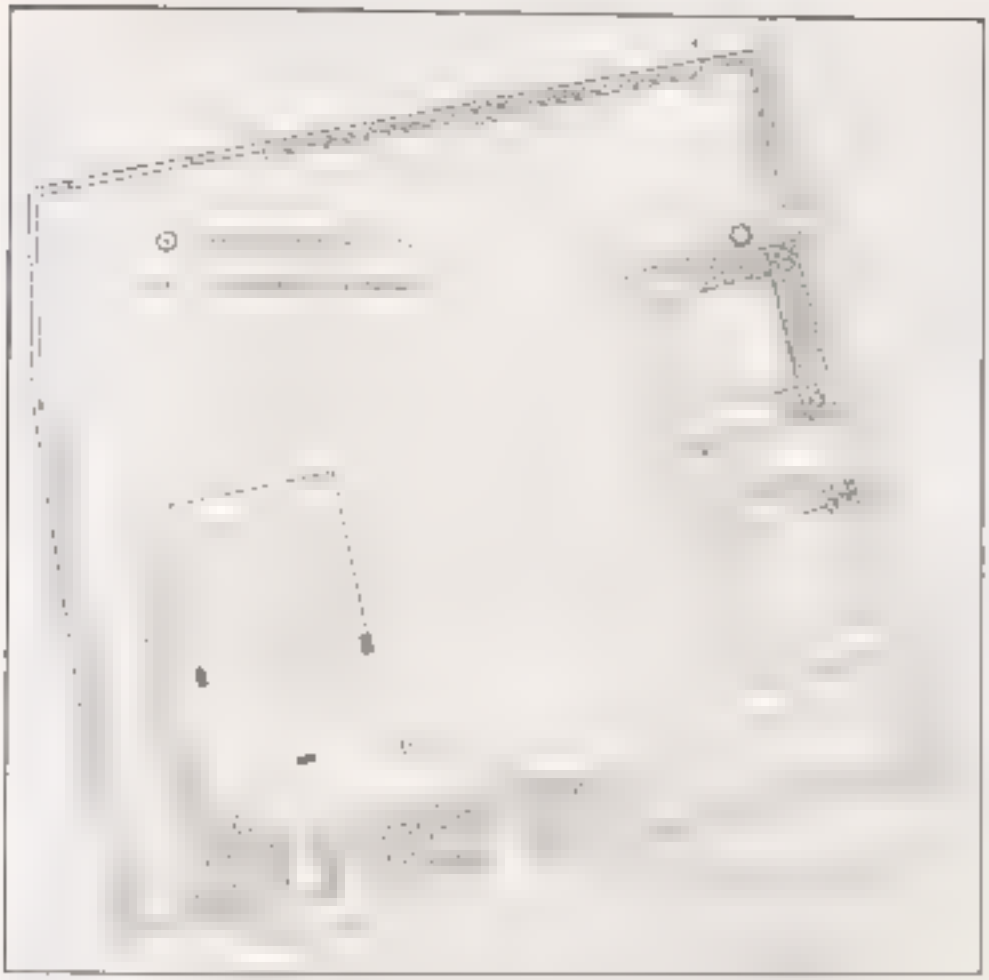
Esarhaddon Texts Found at Babylon

[illegible] Number	[illegible]	[illegible] Number	Location*
[illegible]			
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1. [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		2. [illegible]
	[illegible]		3. [illegible]
[illegible]			
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4. [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	5. [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6. [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	7. [illegible]
[illegible]			
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* [illegible]

In addition to these seven bricks with Esarhaddon inscriptions discovered in situ in Esagila and Etemenanki, seventeen other bricks bearing inscriptions commemorating Esarhaddon's work on Esagila and Etemenanki were found scattered in other sections of the site, most of them probably reused at a later period and displaced from their original locations. The substantial number of Esarhaddon building inscriptions for Esagila and Etemenanki found in the city, a total of twenty-four inscribed bricks and one seal, many found still in situ, supports Esarhaddon's assertions that he sponsored restoration of both buildings.

The large number of surviving Esarhaddon texts found at Babylon is par-



The Ezemenanki Enclosure

Source: [illegible] p. 84

ticularly striking in view of the extensive disturbance of the site in modern times. In his book, *By Nile and Euphrates: A Narrative of Journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on Behalf of the British Museum between the Years 1886 and 1914* (London: 1920), 1:pp. 268–273, E. A. Wallis Budge describes his mission to Mesopotamia for the British Museum to see why antiquities from supposedly closed and guarded excavation sites in Mesopotamia were appearing for sale in large numbers on the European antiquities market. He discovered that for centuries local people had mined the ancient sites for bricks and stone to use as building materials, and that the new European interest in Mesopotamian antiquities had recently led them to search for ancient objects to sell, as well. Babylon was among the sites being mined, even though formal excavation of

the site had not yet begun. Budge, finding the practice widespread and impossible to stop, gave in and simply bought what he could. Significantly, his purchases included "several large pieces of cylinders of Esarhaddon" (1, p. 273). These were bought from local people who brought them to Budge as he traveled from Hillah, the city nearest to the ruins of Babylon, toward the ruins themselves. It seems likely that these texts were found on the mounds of Babylon and that at least some of them should be identified with the prism fragments in which Babylon A, C, E, and F are inscribed. J.E. Reade of the British Museum kindly informs me that the texts Bu. 88-5-12, 75–80, -101 and -201 inscribed with the Bab. A, C, E, and F texts are registered in the British Museum basic inventory in Budge's handwriting, with the provenance "Hillah," and that Bu. 88-5-12, 74 inscribed with part of the Babylon C text and Bu. 88-5-12, 102 (Babylon F) are also registered as coming from Hillah, although the entry for these latter texts is not in Budge's handwriting. All six of these texts, although bought rather than found *in situ*, thus probably came from the ruins of Babylon and should be added to the total of Esarhaddon inscriptions from that site. If the prisms purchased by Budge in fact represent foundation documents deposited by Esarhaddon in Etemenanki and Esagila, as seems likely, this would indicate that the unofficial digging had penetrated to the areas in which some of the most important Esarhaddon building documents on the site were located. The prisms bought by Budge are thus additional proof of Esarhaddon's building activity at Babylon, and suggest that further remains of Esarhaddon's work in the city have probably been lost or destroyed in unrecorded digging.

The surviving archeological evidence offers strong corroboration for Esarhaddon's claim that he carried out substantial restoration work on the temple of Esagila and its adjoining ziggurat complex, Etemenanki. Only in the case of the city walls does the archeological evidence suggest that Esarhaddon may not have fulfilled his promises to the city. While we have seen that Assurbanipal's work on the walls seems confirmed by inscriptions found in the city, some discovered in positions where they might have fallen from the walls themselves, no archeological evidence has emerged to support Esarhaddon's claims of work on the walls. In the excavation report, Wetzel notes that foundation texts of either Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal might still lie hidden at the base of the walls, which were never excavated (*Stadtmauern*, p. 17), but it is clear that Esarhaddon's work did not advance beyond the laying of foundations for the walls, if, indeed, it advanced that far. In sum, the archeological evidence from Babylon confirms that both Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal sponsored work on the temple Esagila and the ziggurat Etemenanki, but suggests that Assurbanipal was largely responsible for the reconstruction of the city walls.

If both kings restored the same buildings, however, is it possible to assess

the extent of Esarhaddon's contributions to the projects more precisely? The answer, I suggest, lies in the way the projects are described in the two kings' building inscriptions. Like most building inscriptions, these texts are proleptic, as I have already noted, often buried in the foundations or walls of the buildings whose construction they describe. Assyrian building inscriptions typically outlined a plan of construction still being carried out when the texts were put in place. In any particular text, certain parts of the construction plan are described in detail, suggesting that these sections of the project were already fully planned and perhaps even under construction when the text was composed, while other parts of the project are described briefly and in general terms, suggesting that this part of the work was to be undertaken at a later time.[20] If we look at the two kings' building inscriptions for Babylon in this light, the problem of their apparently overlapping efforts is largely resolved. In his Babylon inscriptions, Esarhaddon's claims to have worked on Esagila and Etemenanki are explicit and detailed, and the preparation and clearing of the site are described in convincing detail. Babylon G, for example, gives a careful account of the initial stages of clearing away debris to prepare Babylon for rebuilding: "I called up all my workmen and all the land of Karduniaš (Babylonia). They felled trees and swamp reeds with axes, they uprooted them. The waters of the Euphrates . . . I removed from its midst . . ." (Bab. G, Ep. 18)

Esarhaddon's Babylon texts continue with descriptions of ritual preparations for construction: the anointing of the slope of the excavations ". . . with fine oil, honey, ghee, *kurunnu*-beer, and *šuqunnu*-wine, pure drink of the mountains . . ." (Bab. A, B, C, D, and E, Ep. 20); the king's bearing of a basket as a sign of his involvement in the project (Bab. A, C, D, and E, Ep. 21); and the presentation of offerings to the great gods and the brick god, followed by the anointing of the foundations (Bab. B, Ep. 27). Esarhaddon's inscriptions also describe efforts to recover the original plans of the building and follow them in the reconstruction, reporting, ". . . the site of Esagila before . . . I caused to be opened up [and] I saw its layout" (Bab. A and C, Ep. 25).[21] The texts go on to describe deepening the excavations to build a massive new foundation platform (Bab. C, Ep. 30), and making bricks, ". . . in brick forms of ivory, willow, boxwood, and mulberry" (Bab. A, B, C, D, and E, Ep. 22). And they conclude this report of preliminaries with a description of laying the foundations: "In a favorable month, on a propitious day, I laid its founda-

[20] [illegible] the Babylon inscriptions in "Gifts and Dedicatory Inscriptions" [illegible] *History, Historiography, and Interpretation* [illegible] Note, however, that [illegible] weather—or, in some cases, in some of the Babylon texts for summer festivals—see Appendix B.

[21] Borger [illegible] "Zu den Asarhaddon-Texten aus Babel" [illegible]

tions upon the former foundations, not leaving out a (single) yard, not adding (even) half a yard, following the original plans" (Bab. A and C, Ep. 26; ll. 40b–46)

With descriptions of these preliminaries out of the way, the inscriptions provide equally detailed accounts of the various steps in the actual building, reflecting a project in the final planning stages or already under way. They describe placing roof beams for ceilings: "With beams of lofty cedar, a product of the pure Amanus Mountains, I made its roof stretch across" (Bab. A and C, Ep. 38). They list the types of wood used in construction, "mulberry, cedar, pistachio, pure wood(s)" (Bab. C, Ep. 26), and they describe the installation of ornate doors: "Door leaves of cypress whose scent is sweet I fastened with a covering of gold and silver, and I hung them on their gateways" (Bab. A and C, Ep. 51)

Esarhaddon's texts conclude by describing the final steps in restoring the temple to working order: the repair and replacement of the damaged gods' statues (Bab. A, Ep. 54), the equipping of the temple with cultic vessels "of whatever kind, things desirable for Esagila, made of gold and silver, whose (weight) was fifty minas, cleverly made with artful skill" (Bab. C, Ep. and E, Ep. 55), and finally the reinstitution of regular offerings and the appointment of temple personnel, including "exorcist- and priest-priests and cantors," and "prayer-priests, priests, musicians, lamentation-priests, and raven-priests" (E, p. 331). The rich detail with which even those final steps of the project are described suggests that work on Esagila and Etemenanki was nearing completion by the end of Esarhaddon's reign.

The discussion of the building of walls in Esarhaddon's Babylon inscriptions is less comprehensive and perfunctory,[1] suggesting in contrast that rebuilding the city walls was delayed until late in the reign or, more very probably, a delay that makes sense if we understand it as a security measure intended to keep the city relatively defenseless until Assyrian-Babylonian relations improved. With the exception of the walls, however, the detail in Esarhaddon's descriptions of building suggests that he actually undertook extensive construction work in the city, which is also the conclusion to which the archeological evidence points.

Assurbanipal's inscriptions, in their turn, also support the conclusion that Esarhaddon, rather than Assurbanipal, was responsible for the bulk of the construction work in Babylon. In describing his own achievements, Assurbanipal freely gives his father credit for the main part of the work on Esagila, calling

[1] Ep. 53 in Borger (Bab. A, ll. 44–48) refers to the rebuilding of Babylon's city walls, whose ruins are completely [illegible] Borger (Bab. A, ll. 44–48) records the construction of the [illegible] the foundations of the wall, [illegible] the wall survives probably because Esarhaddon's successor is responsible for rebuilding the walls and should, before his death, [illegible]

Esarhaddon "builder of Esagila" (*ṭēmu Esagila*) (Cyl. I 2, 1. 5–6) and saving of himself only. "The work on Esagila that the father who engendered me had not finished, I myself completed" (Cyl. I 1, ll. 8–9). Assurbanipal reports that he completed Esagila, but the work he describes is limited to the final steps of placing roof beams and doors and supplying equipment (Stele N3, ll. 58–65), and to decorative work: "With silver, gold, and precious stones I provided for Esagila" (Cyl. I 2, l. 14), "he who provides for Esagila, palace of the gods, who makes its face gleam like the stars of the firmament" (Stele S2, ll. 8–10). He also claims credit for the building or adornment of two chapels in Esagila, Ekarzagina, the chapel of the god Ea (Cyl. I 1, 9), that Enlil caused to be made anew, Ekarzagina, the house of Lugalbanda in the midst of Esagila" (Stele N3, ll. 65–67), and the Marduk chapel in Esagila called Ekua, whose adornment by Assurbanipal is mentioned in (Cyl. I 2, l. 5) and in (Cyl. I 1, l. 16) "like the stars of the firmament I made Ekua shine"; in a more detailed account he adds

> Their pinnacles, like [illegible], and the firmament, like platform, [illegible] of Esagila according to their ancient custom. I made pinnacles [illegible] different colors (Cyl. I 1, l. 18–2[illegible])

The work is more limited than that described by Esarhaddon, and it is said explicitly to be the completion of work already begun. The inscriptions of Esarhaddon, in contrast, describe the advancing construction work in full detail. Assurbanipal's inscriptions claim that he sponsored the completion of two chapels in Esagila and the final outfitting and adornment of Esagila as a whole, but they give credit for most of the basic restoration work on the temples to Esarhaddon.

The passages discussing the construction of the walls, as we have seen, show a different picture, also confirmed by the archeological evidence. In contrast to Esarhaddon's lavish, luxurious work on the walls, Assurbanipal describes at some length their need for repair and his work on the inner walls in particular, including the final step of hanging door-leaves in the massive gateways in the walls, but his texts significantly make no mention at all this of any work by his father on the project (Cyl. I 6, ll. 16–22). In the case of the walls, it was evidently Assurbanipal who was responsible for most of the work completed.

With this one exception, Assurbanipal's inscriptions confirm the image Esarhaddon himself presents of his work in Babylon. The two kings' claims are not contradictory, but complementary, and are well supported by archeo-

[illegible] Streck, *Assurbanipal*, 128. The Assurbanipal texts in the following pages are cited according to the identifying labels Streck assigns them.

logical evidence. Just as Esarhaddon was to complete work on the Ešarra temple in Aššur which his father Sennacherib had left unfinished, so Assurbanipal completed Esarhaddon's work on Esagila and Ekremankir, acknowledging his father's major contribution to the project as he did so.[illegible]

With the apparent contradictions between Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal's reports resolved, we have no reason to doubt that Esarhaddon's reconstruction work in Babylon was, as he claimed, a major public works project. The archeological evidence confirms that Esarhaddon honored his promises to rebuild Babylon and made substantial progress in its resettlement and restoration before his death in 669, particularly in the reconstruction of Esagila and Ekremankir.[illegible]

Since the city of Babylon served as the capital for all Babylonia, its revitalization was in a sense a gift to the south as a whole. Esarhaddon nevertheless took pains to extend the tangible benefits of Assyrian rule to other Babylonian cities, as well. (For the locations of these cities, see map, p. 42.) His first gesture in this direction was the return of statues of Babylonian gods that had been captured in wars and were being kept in Assyria.[illegible] In the first year of Esarhaddon's reign, the god Anu and several other gods were returned to the city of Uruk, and Ilunsimma and other gods were returned to Sippar-anum.[illegible]

[illegible]

Later other Babylonian gods were also repatriated: Šamaš to Larsa, Il-Amurru to Babylon, and Usur-amassa to Uruk (AsBbA, rs., ll. 40–44).

In addition to the repatriation of gods, the program of temple building and adornment, begun in the first year with Babylon, was extended to other southern cities in a program of Assyrian building in Babylonia that was to continue until the end of the reign. In the city of Uruk, Esarhaddon sponsored construction work on the Eanna temple of the goddess Ištar. According to his inscriptions, he uncovered the original foundations of the temple, cleared away debris from the collapse of walls and rebuilt the structure in its entirety (Uruk A, ll. 30–33). Within Eanna, the chapels Enirgalanna, dedicated to Ištar, and Ehilianna, dedicated to the goddess Nanâ, were largely rebuilt. Seven exemplars of the three foundation inscriptions (Uruk B, C, and D) for these chapels still survive, but there is to my knowledge no archeological evidence yet available to corroborate Esarhaddon's work on Eanna. Not restricting himself to the reconstruction of the Eanna temple alone, Esarhaddon also built a new ziggurat at Uruk dedicated to the god Anu; although no foundation documents from the project have survived, an inscribed Esarhaddon brick found in situ in the ziggurat confirms his role in its construction.

In addition to building at Uruk, Esarhaddon acted as patron of the Uruk temples in other ways as well. A broken text describes his gathering of scattered herds belonging to the temple of Ištar of Uruk. A letter from Mar-Ištar, Esarhaddon's personal envoy to Babylonia, reports that people were working on the statue of Uruk's goddess Nanâ under his supervision in Uruk, and that the work was nearly completed (LAS 277). Mar-Ištar's supervision

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[illegible]

of the work is an indication that the statue was being refurbished under the sponsorship of the Assyrian king. The same letter also reports that a statue of the goddess Usur-amassa had arrived elegantly costumed in Uruk after refurbishing in Assyria, and that it needed only to have gold leaf applied to its hands and feet; evidently Esarhaddon's contributions to the gods of Uruk were fairly lavish. Mar-Ištar remarks that his letter had been written in response to a direct inquiry by the king about progress on the projects, an indication that Esarhaddon was taking an active interest in the work being done at Uruk in his name.

Esarhaddon also sponsored building projects in the city of Nippur. The Ekur temple of Enlil at Nippur was restored, and a processional street for it was "made to shine like the day." Ebaradurgarra, the temple of Inanna in Nippur, was also restored. Esarhaddon's work on this building was for the most part destroyed in the course of later restorations of the temple, but in the surviving northern front section and gate, the excavators found one undisturbed inscribed brick of Esarhaddon confirming his claim. In addition, fragments of some twelve clay cylinders bearing Esarhaddon dedicatory inscriptions for Ebaradurgarra have been found widely distributed on the site, particularly in the area of the Inanna temple itself. These texts and their provenience provide ample evidence of Esarhaddon's attention to the religious edifices of Nippur.

A fourth southern city on which Esarhaddon's attentions were concentrated was Borsippa. Here he rebuilt and strengthened the temple of Gula, weakened by flood. He claims also to have made generous donations to the Nabu temple in that city:

> [For] Ezida, the temple of Nabû, ... of Borsippa ... [illegible] through the [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible]
>
> [illegible]

[illegible] Nippur [illegible] temple of Nippur are published in Nippur II [illegible]

[illegible] Nippur I.

[illegible] "Excavations at Nippur," [illegible]

See Porter, [illegible] in particular the use of the title [illegible] Esarhaddon.

Esarhaddon also commissioned the construction of a *tuna* for Nabû of Borsippa.[55] A letter of Mar-Istar to Esarhaddon (LAS 284) refers to still another project in Borsippa, the adorning of the *parakkû*s of Ezida with silver.[56] It is possible that Esarhaddon sponsored at least one more building project in Borsippa, as well, rising water prompted Mar-Istar to recommend to the king the construction of a quay for Borsippa's Ezida temple and the strengthening of its embankment to protect it from flooding (LAS 291). However, Esarhaddon may not have begun work on the project, since the letter was written in late June or 669,[57] only four months before the king's death. In any case, Mar-Istar's suggestion implies Esarhaddon's committed interest in Borsippa to the end of his reign.[58]

The city of Akkad (a Babylonian city whose identity and location are still debated) also benefitted from a building program.[59] According to an inscription of the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus, Esarhaddon was known in later times as a king who had restored Esabatila, the ancient temple of Ištar in Akkad.[60] A letter requests that Esarhaddon also intervened to restore compulsory contributions to this temple, which had been discontinued after Ištar's statue was carried off to Elam in Šutruk-Nahhunte's reign.[61]

What has been emerging in these pages is the outlines of a large public

[55] LAS 1 [illegible] and 281. LAS [illegible] Simo Parpola, [illegible] Letter from Nabû to the King, Assurbanipal [illegible] Mesopotamia [illegible] (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1970). Parpola suggests [illegible] LAS [illegible] the amount [illegible] Parpola [illegible] construction [illegible] Borsippa [illegible] building projects.

[56] The passage [illegible] Ezida [illegible] likely that [illegible] Ezida [illegible] another [illegible] building [illegible] Parpola [illegible]

[57] Parpola [illegible]

[58] [illegible] Borsippa [illegible] Nabû [illegible]

[59] [illegible] Akkad [illegible] Mesopotamia, 900. [illegible] Mar-Istar [illegible] example to the [illegible] of Akkad [illegible] LAS 2[illegible] [illegible] restored to Esabatila [illegible] Parpola [illegible] Letter, III: pp. 2[illegible] [illegible] Ishtar Akkad, following Hayes. Mario [illegible] suggestion [illegible] Nippur [illegible] Hammurabi [illegible] Akkad [illegible] Akkad [illegible] Nippur [illegible]

[60] Stephen Langdon, [illegible] in Babylonian [illegible] VAB 4: p. 2[illegible] [illegible] The inscription [illegible] a large [illegible] Babylonian temple, [illegible] Sabaratu (p. 46).

[61] LAS 2[illegible]

works program that Esarhaddon developed throughout Babylonia. The work on the temples of Babylon was its centerpiece, but it was only one facet of a construction program that was extended also to the cities of Uruk, Nippur, Borsippa and Akkad.[illegible]

Esarhaddon conferred other benefits on the Babylonian cities, as well. Fields taken by the tribe of Bit-Dakkuru were retaken by the Assyrians and returned to their original owners in the cities of Babylon and Borsippa (Nin. A, Ep. 12; Nin. B, Ep. 10), a forceful demonstration of the king's intention to protect the interests of the southern cities. To the citizens of Babylon, he restored ancient freedoms from obligations to the king, the freedoms variously referred to as *andurarum*, *kidinnuti* and *zakiuti*;[illegible] he also restored to Babylon the right to trade freely with all nations, a right that had evidently been curtailed (Bab. A, C, and I, Ep. 37, ll. 38–42). To the cities of Nippur, Borsippa and Sippar, he granted the similar freedoms of *misaru* status.[illegible] The king also intervened to solve problems in the operations of southern temples, in one case sending an official to assure the delivery of regular ram offerings for the god Nabû in Borsippa (LAS 284). Twice, southern cities were permitted to share in booty brought home by the Assyrian army from conquest abroad; after the campaign against Sidon in 677, a portion of the booty was sent as a gift to Uruk,[illegible] and later, after the conquest of Egypt, booty was shared with

[illegible]

a number of southern cities: "I covered [the holy places?] of Sumer and Akkad [with the luster(?) of gold, silver, precious stones . . . and booty from Egypt and Ethiopia, [which through tr[ust in Aššur, my lord, [my hands had t[aken, and I made (them) shine like the day . . . " (Smith., obv., ll. 28–29).

Such distribution of booty was an unusual favor, ordinarily reserved for the homeland cities of Assyria alone. Like the building projects and other favors, it was both a tangible gift and a sign of the change in Assyrian relations with Babylonia; although Babylonia remained a subject state, Esarhaddon was conferring benefits upon its cities that they would normally have received only from their own Babylonian king.

The cities that received favors from Esarhaddon included by the end of the reign: Nippur, Uruk, Borsippa, Ur, Sippar, Sippar-anunu, Larsa, Akkad, and above all, Babylon itself. It is possible that Esarhaddon sponsored building projects in some of the other cities of Babylonia as well, such as Dilbat and Kish, but of this we have no record—perhaps because these, like so many of Babylonia's ancient cities, have not been extensively excavated, so that both archeological evidence and building inscriptions may still lie hidden. Even with these gaps in our evidence, however, the list of Esarhaddon's building projects in Babylonia and of his gifts and favors to southern cities is impressive, comprising by far the most extensive southern building program conducted by an Assyrian king.[166]

While the king's personal piety and the state of dilapidation of the temples in question may both have been factors in Esarhaddon's decision to build so extensively in the south, the political impact of such a program of gifts and building was certainly a major element in the decision as well. In the first millennium in Mesopotamia, as Thorkild Jacobsen has pointed out, gods came "to embody more and more the political interests of their cities and countries."[167] As a consequence, a king's treatment of the temple or statue of a god had political as well as religious ramifications, as Jacobsen puts it: "Since the gods were to large measure identified with their main places of worship as local and national gods, they became, of course, unavoidably drawn into political conflicts as partisans, and then their statues and their temples were felt to be at the mercy of the conqueror."[168] The reverse, of course, was

[166] Elnathan [illegible] provide the [illegible] opportunity [illegible] of Assyrian policy. Elnathan's [illegible] [illegible] Babylon [illegible] Assyrian [illegible] opportunity [illegible] Assyrian [illegible] [illegible] such as Dilbat and Kish. [illegible] [illegible] in 681 [illegible] [illegible] Babylon [illegible] such decisions to [illegible] [illegible]

[167] Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness*, [illegible]

[168] *Ibid.*, [illegible]

also erect benefits conferred upon the gods of a city or upon their statues and temples were understood as fundamental favors to the city as a whole. Esarhaddon's rebuilding of the temples of Babylonia was thus a strong demonstration of his concern for the welfare of his southern subjects. By repairing and adorning southern temples and acting as the patron of the Babylonian cults, Esarhaddon was assuming in Babylonia an important aspect of the persona of a Babylonian king, echoing the gesture of southern rulers over the ages such as Ur-Nammu, Ishme-Dagan, Hammurapi, and Agum-kakrime, who had also consolidated their position as rulers over the ancient southern cities by sponsoring building projects and donations to the cities' temples, as we have seen. His gifts and temple building projects in the south, both as contributions to the city's welfare and as statements of the king's respect for Babylonia and her traditions, provided tangible evidence of the benefits of Assyrian rule and formed the core of the public relations program Esarhaddon developed to win Babylonian acceptance of his rule.

Although Esarhaddon's building projects in the Babylonian cities provided visible confirmation of his intentions to provide liberally for Babylonia and also presented him to his southern subjects as a ruler who would to some extent carry on the traditions of their own Babylonian monarchs, it is important that Esarhaddon's attentions to Babylonia should not be interpreted as diminishing his role as king of Assyria. Esarhaddon has sometimes been referred to by scholars as the "Babylonian" king of Assyria,[1] but this usage reveals a fundamental misunderstanding of Esarhaddon's relationship to the Babylonians and of the thrust of his Babylonian policy.

Esarhaddon's public image as king, his role as ruler of both Assyria and Babylonia, was reflected in the projects he undertook in Assyria as much as in those he sponsored in Babylonia. His building program in Assyria was different in character from his southern building program, and its nature makes it abundantly clear that whatever Esarhaddon's attentions to the south, his central political and military base remained unequivocally in Assyria. This is the message of the Assyrian public works program, and it supplies an important qualification to our understanding of Esarhaddon's Babylonian policy. Esarhaddon's building program in Babylonia, as we have seen, was largely confined to work on temples. His building program in Assyria, in contrast, included not only temple construction, but also extensive work on palace and arsenal complexes, as well. We will begin by reviewing Esarhaddon's program

[illegible]

of temple construction in Assyria and will then turn to consider the significance of his equally extensive program of secular constructions in the north.

In the spring of 679, a year after announcing the beginning of work in Babylon, Esarhaddon inaugurated his northern temple-building program with ceremonies in the city of Aššur that marked the beginning of restoration work on the national temple Ešarra.[77] This project closely paralleled the project he had just begun in Babylon, just as Esagila in Babylon was the national religious center of the south, Ešarra served the same function in the north.

The Esagila project, announced early in 680 and probably begun shortly thereafter, was his first public works project of Esarhaddon's reign; the reconstruction of Ešarra, begun in 679, was the second. The latter project seems to have been intended in part to demonstrate to the Assyrians from the outset that Esarhaddon's favor to Babylonia would be matched by equivalent attentions to Assyria. To underline this point, Esarhaddon's inscriptions soon began to include references to both personal in the formal history of his achievements in the royal epithet, calling Esarhaddon "builder of the houses of Aššur, maker of Esagila and Babylon," the two phrases are invariably linked in these texts, so as to emphasize the king's evenhanded treatment of the two groups.[78] His "Assur-Babylon" inscriptions, written toward the end of his reign, would later claim that the two projects were so closely related that they should be understood as a single undertaking, but in these early stages, the two projects were presented as equivalent but clearly separate undertakings.

This equivalence was underlined by repeating as part of the foundation ceremonies at Aššur the basket-bearing ceremony which had been introduced as part of the foundation ceremonies for Esagila in the previous year.[79] We will talk further about the significance of the basket-bearing ceremony below, but at this point its importance for us lies in the fact that these were the only two occasions on which Esarhaddon performed the basket-bearing ceremony, a further indication that the building of Ešarra was meant to be understood as the northern counterpart of the reconstruction of Esagila in Babylonia. To emphasize his evenhanded treatment of the two peoples even further, Esarhaddon accompanied the beginning of work on Ešarra with a

[77] The correspondence of Esarhaddon's reign indicates that the Assur Annals included only the project in some detail; indications of correspondence [illegible] Assur A, ii 1 and 17. [illegible] Assur A, i [illegible] Assur B [illegible] A slightly [illegible] Assur A, ii [illegible] Assur B [illegible] which is undated [illegible] of the building of the temple. [illegible] of Ešarra is [illegible] Ashur A, ii [illegible] and Ashur [illegible] ii [illegible]

[78] [illegible] Assur A, ii [illegible] Babylon A, i [illegible] and E, iii 21.

grant of freedoms and tax exemptions to the city of Aššur similar to the grant made to Babylon a year earlier.[17] Although the archeological evidence from the Ekarra temple is meager, some confirmation of Esarhaddon's claim that he restored Ekarra is provided by a series of limestone foundation blocks found in situ in the cultroom of the temple, blocks which the excavator, Walter Andrae, identified as typical of Esarhaddon's architectural style.[18] In addition to his work on Ekarra, Esarhaddon also sponsored construction of a massive wall of limestone blocks running along the river at Aššur, the blocks, found in situ, carry a series of inscriptions that identify the work as his.[19]

The beginning of construction on Ekarra in 679 was the first step in the delicate balancing act the new king needed to maintain if his program to win the favor of the Babylonians was not to produce active resentment in the north, his real power base. As he moved to include more cities in his program of southern public works, he also expanded his program of northern building projects. After beginning work on Ekarra, Esarhaddon turned his attention to Nineveh, the political capital of Assyria. There he sponsored construction work on the temple Emašmaš of the goddess Ištar in 677, supplementing the building project with a donation of precious objects to the shrine.[20]

Also in Nineveh, Esarhaddon rebuilt a temple of the gods Sîn and Šamaš and their consorts. The mention of a "temple of Šamaš" (l. 7) in the building inscription for the Emašmaš temple of Nineveh discussed above suggests that the two projects were closely connected, other inscriptions make it clear, however, that this building was not just a chapel at Emašmaš, but an independent construction project of some size.[21] The Nineveh I inscription, for example, describes the Sîn and Šamaš temple as a substantial building:

> [illegible] and prepared the [illegible] with a mass of limestone, [illegible] Upon that mass I laid its foundation. That house, its holiday house, [illegible] I made to stand firm over

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible] [illegible] cypress whose scent is good [illegible] whatever equipment was desirable for the temple, of silver and gold [illegible] (Nin. I, ii 9–11)

The date is broken in each of the building inscriptions that describe the project, but the reference to it in the Emašmaḫ inscription of 677 suggests a date early in the reign.

Two documents from later in the reign attest to Esarhaddon's continuing favors to the gods of Nineveh. As part of the project of renewing statues of gods (most of them Babylonian), Esarhaddon also refurbished the statues of two Ninevite gods, Abšušu and Abnagga, minor gods whose chapel was in one of the temples of Ištar in Nineveh (AdRvA, ro., II 40–41). Esarhaddon seems to have restored a third temple or chapel in Nineveh, as well, the "Sammelrest," a late inscription describing an assortment of building projects in Assyria and Babylonia, briefly reports: "[the temple?] of Nabû and Lamentum, (which) had grown old, I renewed, (and) that which had fallen I repaired [illegible]" (Sanh., rs., l. 6). Although the location of this temple is not mentioned, it should probably be placed in Nineveh, since the passage describing reconstruction is sandwiched between descriptions of two other construction projects in that city. It is difficult to pinpoint the extent of the project, since the description is brief and somewhat broken. The verb *ennepušu*, "to fall"[illegible] used in the passage, however, ordinarily refers in building inscriptions to the collapse of walls, suggesting that the passage describes fairly substantial repairs, not just decorative additions.

Esarhaddon's northern temple building program extended beyond the Assyrian national centers of Aššur and Nineveh to include other northern cities. At Calah (a site better known today as Nimrud, from the modern town located beside the ruins), where Esarhaddon was redeveloping as a military center for Assyria, Esarhaddon was probably responsible for extensive repairs made to the Ezida temple of the god Nabû in this period. The excavator, M. E. L. Mallowan, although he attributes much of the reconstruction of Ezida in this period to Sargon II, notes the resemblance of the masonry in the great hall of the Ezida temple (NT I) to that of Esarhaddon's great defensive wall at Fort Shalmaneser, elsewhere on the site, and suggests that Esarhaddon instead may have been responsible for much of the work in this area.[illegible] The attribution of the work to Esarhaddon is strengthened by the discovery in the temple of three inscribed prism fragments which describe the restoration work, although the name of the builder king is broken away in all three inscriptions. The excavation epigraphist, Barbara Parker, notes that stock phrases used in the texts suggest them to be the work of Esarhaddon's scribes.[illegible] The

[illegible] M. E. L. Mallowan, [illegible] 1, p. [illegible] 2 [illegible] and 20[illegible] and [illegible] II, p. [illegible]

[illegible] NT I [illegible] The cuneiform inscriptions were found on the pavement of the [illegible]

archaeological evidence indicates that the repair of this temple was a substantial project, involving a nearly complete rebuilding of the sanctuary.

Esarhaddon also sponsored work on the temple of Ištar in the Assyrian city of Arbela. This temple, Egašankalamma, he sheathed with *zabalu*, a silver alloy, and made it shine like the sky.[illegible] In addition to this expensive piece of decoration, he also commissioned the construction of statues of lions, angel-beasts, snake monsters, storm demons, and *šhendum* of silver and bronze, and had these set up in the gateways of the temple.

Another temple construction project of Esarhaddon's that was probably also located in Assyria is the *akitu*-house or New Year's Festival House of the Gods, whose construction is described along with other Esarhaddonian building projects in a text dating from late in the reign. Such [illegible] The location of this temple is uncertain, since no *akitu* is mentioned in the text and *akitu* temples are known to have existed in at least seven and perhaps eight different cities in Assyria and Babylonia.[illegible] The text seems, however, to link the temple to the goddess Ištar, which would suggest an Assyrian location, since all the texts in Babylonia of this period concerned the god Marduk instead.[illegible] There are two Assyrian *akitu*-temples known to be associated with Ištar in this period, one in the city of Mākisu, somewhere near Arbela, and a second in Šumanna. Esarhaddon's work may have involved the restoration of one of these, or the construction of an entirely new *akitu* temple in a different place. In either case, the references to brickwork [illegible], cedar beams [illegible] and carvings suggesting the gods' entry into the completed temple

[illegible]

(l. 27) make it clear, despite the fragmentary nature of the passage, that this was a substantial project.[illegible]

This brings the total of Esarhaddon's temple construction projects in Assyria to seven, providing a rough balance to his eight temple building projects in Babylonia. The program of northern temple building projects seems to have been intended to demonstrate to the Assyrians their king's continued interest in his own Assyrian religious institutions, whatever his attentions to the cults of the southern cities.

While the construction work on northern temples paralleled the work Esarhaddon was sponsoring in Babylonia, the rest of his northern building program was quite different in nature from the work he was doing in Babylonia. There, as we have seen, Esarhaddon limited his construction projects almost entirely to work on temples.[illegible] While he worked on almost as many temples in Assyria, he also built in Assyria major military and administrative complexes that were also designed to serve as royal residences.

This point is crucial for understanding Esarhaddon's policy toward both Babylonia and Assyria. Esarhaddon's construction of massive military and administrative centers in the north—and the complete absence of such secular construction in the south—makes it clear where the king's priorities lay. Temple building in the south helped Esarhaddon present himself to the Babylonians as the representative of their traditions of kingship, but represented no redistribution of power. Simultaneous temple construction in Assyria established Esarhaddon's equal support for his own northern religious traditions, while at the same time, his secular constructions in Assyria made so abundantly clear that the north was, and was intended to remain, his real base of operations, the unchallenged military and administrative center of the empire.

A closer look at the pattern of Esarhaddon's secular construction in the north makes it clear that preferential treatment for Assyria was part of his policy from the beginning. As early as 678, Esarhaddon was actively engaged in the expansion of the already large fort and palace complex, or *bīt-ridūti*, in the Assyrian city of Kalah (Nimrud), not far from Nineveh.[illegible] He had build-

[illegible]

[illegible] Wiseman reports [illegible] that "a notable gap in Esarhaddon's still unpublished inscriptions for the new northwest palace is conspicuous

ing was the centerpiece of Esarhaddon's extensive program to redevelop Calah as a military and administrative center for Assyria, a program that continued to the end of his reign.[64] When Esarhaddon's project expanding the *ekal mašari* at Calah was completed, the building covered some 18 acres of ground and included military barracks, quarters for administrators, workshops, storage rooms, a royal residential wing and throne room, and five large courtyards, three of them big enough to permit reviews of mounted troops—a palace of some 200 rooms in all.[65] Esarhaddon's inscriptions report that his work on the building included enlarging the area of the palace, raising its terrace by roughly 18 meters,[66] sheathing its foundation platform (*šadû*) in stone, adding a residential suite for his own use, and making a new monumental entryway on the palace's southeast corner.[67]

Archaeological evidence from Calah supports these claims. The monumental entryway that Esarhaddon built still stands, a series of ascending corridors leading to a gateway on the southeast corner of the palace, with inscriptions of Esarhaddon framing the doorway at the bottom (Mallowan, II, pp. 406–7). Esarhaddon's sheathing of the massive south wall of the mound (Kleh A, II: 40–50) also survives, as a great revetment of limestone ashlar masonry covering the earlier mud-brick (Mallowan, II, pp. 374 and 467). Within the palace itself, an inscribed brick bearing Esarhaddon's name, discovered in situ in courtyard NM 45, confirms his work in that area (II, p. 389). Mallowan also attributes to Esarhaddon a variety of other seventh-century renovations to the *ekal mašari* on the basis of architectural style, including the new brick wall of the northeastern courtyard (II, pp. 394–5) and new walls for terrace T6 (II, p. 455).

In addition, Esarhaddon sponsored repairs to a mile-long rock-cut tunnel and canal designed to carry water from the Great Zab River to irrigate the

[64] [illegible]

[65] [illegible]

[66] [illegible]

[67] [illegible]

fields around Calah; Austen Henry Layard in his early excavations at Calah found a stone tablet bearing an Esarhaddon inscription in the remains of the tunnel itself. The tablet is badly worn, but the surviving sections of the inscription suggest that it was originally an account of Esarhaddon's rebuilding of the aqueduct.[14] Esarhaddon also began work, probably late in his reign, on a second palace located on the acropolis itself, the so-called Southwest Palace, his second palace in Calah. Winged lions and bulls, the latter bearing Esarhaddon inscriptions, line the monumental entrance-way, but the palace itself was never finished.[15]

Esarhaddon's program of building at Calah was one of the major architectural projects of his reign. Begun soon after Esarhaddon's accession, work on Calah was still underway at the time of the king's death some nine years later, a highly visible reminder to the Assyrians, if any was needed, of Esarhaddon's intention that his administrative and military base would remain in the Assyrian north.

This message was repeated in the construction of a second arsenal and palace complex (*ekal mašarti*) in the city of Nineveh, similar to the great *ekal mašarti* being built at Calah. At Nineveh, the inscriptions claim, the *ekal mašarti* project involved completely replacing a small palace with a complex large enough for gathering and provisioning a large body of soldiers (Nin. A and H, Ep. 21–22). As at Calah, Esarhaddon included a royal residential suite within the building to serve as his residence in the city.[16]

This palace, the *ekal mašarti* of Nineveh, has never been fully excavated because it lies beneath the modern village of Nebi Yunus, whose mosque, the reputed burial-place of the prophet Jonah, makes the mound a sacred site. Several discoveries at Nebi Yunus, however, confirm that this is where Esarhaddon's Nineveh palace was located. In 1851, Sir Austen Henry Layard, the early excavator of Nineveh, obtained permission to dig a cellar for a house on Nebi Yunus and by this expedient unearthed a chamber whose walls were

[14] Sir Austen Henry Layard, [illegible] *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* [illegible] 47 [illegible] 4 [illegible] of the canal and tunnel. [illegible] Borger, *Asarhaddon*, [illegible]

[15] Archaeologists [illegible] the palace [illegible] the only [illegible] Mallowan concluded that the building [illegible] Mallowan and Margaret Laurie, [illegible] 75, [illegible] 1 [illegible] 59 [illegible] 24. Mallowan [illegible] the Central and Southwest Palaces at Nimrud, 20 and 24. Mallowan [illegible] supported by the fact that the walls of the [illegible] palace are partly [illegible] slabs taken from Tiglath-pileser III's Central Palace [illegible] Excavations [illegible] areas. The original texts are still [illegible] work in progress. See Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains*, plate 2 for a plan of Layard's excavations and his *Discoveries*, pp. [illegible] and [illegible] photos and [illegible] inscriptions. For a description of the rooms as they appeared [illegible] see E. A. Wallis Budge, *By Nile and Tigris*, [illegible] 87. The inscriptions are published by Borger, *Asarhaddon*, [illegible]

[16] Nin. A, Ep. 22, l. 3: *a-ru-ma-ab ka-ši-ir-ti* "for my royal dwelling-place."

lined with alabaster slabs bearing Esarhaddon's name, titles, and genealogy.[71] Layard's team established the presence of Esarhaddon's palace on the Nebi Yunus mound, but was halted by local officials before further exploration of the building could take place. In 1954 city officials of Nebi Yunus granted permission to the Directorate-General of Antiquities of Iraq to do a limited excavation in the southeast corner of the mound so that a road might be put through. These brief excavations, led by Sayid Mohammed Ali Mustafa, succeeded in the first season in uncovering the entrance way and several chambers of a large palace.[72] In the following year, the Iraqi team unearthed in the platform underlying the palace a nearly perfect clay prism inscribed with the full text of Esarhaddon's foundation inscription for the Nineveh *ekal masarti*, containing the dimensions of the palace.[73] It is clear that Nineveh, as well as Calah, was being equipped to continue to serve as a base for Esarhaddon's government and armies and as a royal residence.

The building inscriptions for Nineveh are dated variously to the years 670 and 671 B.C., an indication of the period when active building was taking place.[74] The inscriptions for Calah range, so we have seen, from 678 in the early years of Esarhaddon's reign to 670 later, near the end, while the Southwest Palace at Calah was evidently still under construction at Esarhaddon's death in 669. These dates indicate that soon after work began on Esagila and Etemenanki, the sweetest pieces of Esarhaddon's temple construction program, the king also began work on a series of major secular projects in the north, at both Calah and Nineveh, and continued work on these projects until his death.

In addition to these, Esarhaddon sponsored a series of other secular building projects in Assyria as well. In Assur he built yet another palace, reserved as a royal residence in the city. At Dur-Sharrukin Esarhaddon enlarged an existing palace to serve as the site of princely residence for the crown prince, Assurbanipal.[75] In addition to this already formidable number of Assyrian palaces built by Esarhaddon himself, his mother Naqi'a built a palace in Nineveh for him.[76] Behind the Sin and Samas temple[77] No date for the latter project survives, but it must have been begun early well into the reign, since the inscriptions reports that the labor was done by captives from Esarhaddon's campaigns whom Naqi'a had received as gifts.

These northern palaces, six in all, represent a major commitment by the

[illegible]

king to Assyria. They make it clear, if indeed there was ever any doubt, that Esarhaddon had intended from the outset to keep Assyria as the base of operations for his government and as his place of residence. In Babylonia, his building was extensive, but it was limited almost entirely to work on temples, while this activity produced tangible improvements in temple buildings and in the local economy of the cities, the impact of Esarhaddon's Babylonian building program was as much ideological as practical, linking Esarhaddon to the practices of earlier southern kings and casting him as the protector of southern sanctuaries. Esarhaddon's northern building programs, in contrast, not only confirmed his links to his own native cults but also underlined his primary political and military commitments to the north. However effectively he may have managed to convince the Babylonians—and at times his modern readers—that he wished to be seen as a truly Babylonian king, Esarhaddon's two massive ziggurats in Nineveh and Calah stand as monuments to his unwavering intention to remain fundamentally a northern and Assyrian king.

Seen in this light, Esarhaddon's Babylonian building programs falls into proper perspective. Even as he continued to demonstrate that his primary commitment was to Assyria and her welfare, Esarhaddon was able to suggest to the Babylonians through his program of temple building in the south his willingness to rule Babylonia benevolently, fulfilling the traditional responsibilities of a Babylonian king in a way that even Babylonians might find acceptable. This, finally, was the message his building programs in Babylonia was designed to convey.

CHAPTER FIVE

Images of the King

The Royal *Persona* as an Instrument of Public Policy

THE IDEOLOGICAL MESSAGE UNDERLYING ESARhaddon's program of building and gifts was arguably as important to the success of his Babylonian policy as the tangible benefits his building projects and gifts conferred on the two states. That the king and his advisers were aware, at least on an intuitive level, of this importance is suggested by the elaborate public relations program that they developed to reiterate and make more explicit the ideological messages that the building program and gifts had only implied. This public relations program took a variety of forms: in Babylonia it included, for example, the king's adoption of certain Babylonian royal titles, his personal enactment of an ancient Babylonian royal ceremony, and his use in Babylonian settings of statements carefully shaped to appeal to Babylonian audiences. At the same time that messages of reconciliation were being presented in Babylonia, a different message was being presented to Assyrian audiences to reassure them of their king's continuing commitment to their needs and traditions despite his attentions to Babylonia; this message was presented through a different building program for Assyria, as we have seen, and also through different, Assyrianized versions of the royal inscriptions commemorating Esarhaddon's restoration work in Babylon. Esarhaddon's attention to the ideological impact of his statements and activities suggests an astute political leader's awareness of the figurative impact of his actions, as well as of their concrete results.

In the early years of his reign, Esarhaddon's program for dealing with the Babylonians showed a remarkable political sophistication by not only dealing with the Babylonians' practical needs for resettlement, economic revival and temple repair, but also by directly addressing the Babylonians' perception of their situation and the Assyrians' role in it. Kingship in Babylonia and Assyria, as in many states, had a figurative as well as a practical aspect. Attired in his traditional royal garments, performing the required royal ritual, addressed by the traditional titles and epithets of an Assyrian or Babylonian ruler, the king, in both states, served not only as an individual ruler, but also as a personification of that state's ideal of kingship and as a living emblem of the state he ruled. It was therefore the image of the king that was chosen in the early years as the focus of Esarhaddon's efforts to draw the Babylonians into a closer union

with Assyria, appealing to them both through practical benefits and through the royal persona presented to them. By assuming the key figurative elements of Babylonian kingship in his own person without in any way renouncing his role—figurative and practical—as king of Assyria, Esarhaddon was suggesting to the Babylonians that their own sense of nation could find a sealed life within the Assyrian empire. By assuming some of the trappings of Babylonian royal ritual and tradition, in addition to the Babylonian king's traditional responsibilities to care for Babylonian temples, Esarhaddon offered the Babylonians the possibility of absorption into the Assyrian empire without a complete loss of national identity. He offered them, as well, a special status within the empire, reflected in the adoption of their national traditions of kingship by a ruler of the Assyrian empire—an honor not accorded to any other conquered state.

Like the building program, this intangible side of Esarhaddon's Babylonian policy was not a radical departure from earlier practice, but was rather an extension of the policies of some of his predecessors. Both Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727) and Sargon II (721–705) had combined their claims to direct Assyrian rule over Babylonia with conciliatory gestures toward the Babylonians similar to those Esarhaddon was to make: both assuming the Babylonian king's traditional role in the ritual of the akitu festival at Babylon and both adopting certain Babylonian royal titles.[7] Sargon had in addition become the first Assyrian king to commission a building inscription for Babylonia, a text commemorating his restoration of the temple Esagila in the Babylonian city of Uruk.[8] Even Sennacherib, despite his aggressive approach to Babylonia in the later years of his reign, had earlier assumed the traditional role of a Babylonian border-king in a limited way by sponsoring the construction of a cere-

[7] [illegible]

[8] Albert T. Clay, [illegible] in the Yale Babylonian Collection, no. 36.

monial walkway in Babylon.[82] Esarhaddon, however, expanded on the conciliatory practices of these earlier kings, creating a complex ideological framework for his building program which, as we will see, repeatedly presented him to the Babylonians as a genuinely Babylonian ruler.

One important step in this effort was his revival of royal titles asserting his claim to rule Babylonia. From the earliest days of the reign, the formal lists of royal titles in Esarhaddon's inscriptions refer to him as *šar mat Šumeri u Akkadi*, or "king of Sumer and Akkad," an ancient term for Babylonia, and as *šakkanak Bābili*, "governor, or viceroy, for Babylon."[83] These two titles chosen by Esarhaddon in his first years to assert his claim to Babylonia had been originally the titles of southern rulers, but by the seventh century were frequently included in the royal titulary of Assyria, as well. The choice of these titles permitted Esarhaddon to present himself as the legitimate heir of the royal traditions of both nations, in terminology that already had an accepted role in Assyria. In the south, *šar mat Šumeri u Akkadi* had last been commonly used late in the second millennium by the Sumerian kings of the Ur III dynasty (ca. 2112–2004), and had then been adopted by the kings of the First Dynasty of Isin (ca. 2025–1800).[84] The title was taken up by Hammurapi of Babylon (1792–1750) and thereafter continued to appear occasionally as a title of the kings of Babylon since the eighth century.[85]

In Assyria, *šar mat Šumeri u Akkadi* was first adopted as a royal title by Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208), who added it to his hieratical titles after his conquest of Babylon. After his time, however, Babylon quickly regained independence, and the title was not used again in Assyria until the eighth century, when Tiglath-Pileser III reintroduced it to mark his own Babylonian conquests. Sargon II (721–705), who regained control of Babylonia in the last years of his reign, continued its use.[86] Under his successor Sennacherib, however, the title *šar mat Šumeri u Akkadi* was again discarded, as we have seen. Paul Garelli argues that the adoption of this and other southern royal titles by Assyria represented not only a formal assertion of sovereignty over Babylonian territory, but also implied the Assyrians' intention to lay claim to "the prestige of the first empires of Akkad and of Ur, and of the great Babylonian kings".[87]

[82] Walter Andrae, *Das Babylonische Haus* [illegible] 1958, [illegible]

[83] Beginning with Babylon is cited in Assyrian Apis Museum and Babylon A, portions written in the first [illegible] Appendix II.

[84] [illegible] 90–92.

[85] [illegible] Mendelsohn Babylon [illegible] Mendelsohn [illegible] Sens, 202–[illegible]

[86] [illegible]

[87] [illegible] Mogens Trolle Larsen [illegible] 32[illegible]

his point is supported in that conquest over other states is only rarely reflected in Assyrian titulary at all, and never, to my knowledge, by the adoption of the titles of a conquered ruler except in the case of Babylonia. In remaining a title such as *šar mat Šumeri u Akkadi*, Esarhaddon was both styling himself as successor to the ancient kings of Babylonia and signaling a return to the benevolent Babylonian policy of his grandfather Sargon, the last Assyrian king to use these titles.

Šakkanakku Babili, "governor (or viceroy) of Babylon," the second southern Mesopotamian title assumed by Esarhaddon at the beginning of his reign, had a history nearly as long.[34] Used without modifiers, the term *šakkanakku* had been a title of provincial governors since ancient times in both the north and the south. In the south, however, it had also been incorporated in the titles of kings beginning with the reign of Lugal-zagesi, ruler of the Sumerian city-state of Umma (ca. 2300). In the Old Babylonian period (ca. 1900–1600), it emerged as a common element in the royal titles of Babylonia, and after about 1300, the title *šakkanakku* appeared occasionally in the royal titles of both nations.[35]

The coupling of the title with the name of Babylon in the phrase *šakkanak Babili*, however, was a special case, occurring since in Babylonia in the reign of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu in the twelfth century, and then disappearing for centuries until it was adopted as an Assyrian title by Sargon II (721–705). Like *šar mat Šumeri u Akkadi*, the title *šakkanak Babili* was discarded by Sennacherib, but revived by Esarhaddon. Esarhaddon's use of these titles was particularly significant because his father Sennacherib, despite his control over Babylonia during much of his reign, had dropped all references to Babylonia in his official titles, an act that implied the reduction of Babylonia to the status of other provinces, which were only rarely mentioned in Assyrian royal titles.[36]

[34] [illegible]

[35] [illegible]

[36] [illegible]

In addition, Esarhaddon's use of the title implies his intention to suggest a connection between himself and the ancient kings of the south, where *šakkanakku* had been a common element in early royal title lists.

Since the term *šakkanakku*, used without modifiers, was a title of governors as well as of kings, Sargon and Esarhaddon's choice of this particular title was a way of stating their claims to control of the city of Babylon and its lands in the least strident terms possible.[171] On the other hand, a king could appropriately be called "governor," only in the sense that he was understood to be the subordinate and regent of the gods themselves, the term *šakkanakku* when used of a king thus had religious overtones as well, an implication sometimes made explicit by expanding the title to *šakkanakku šanu*, or "governor of the gods."[172] It may be this aspect of the term that Sargon, and later Esarhaddon, intended to emphasize, the idea that each ruled Babylonia by the choice of Babylonia's own gods, a point Esarhaddon made explicit in one of his inscriptions, where he claims he was appointed to kingship by the Babylonian god Marduk.[173] The introduction of these two titles into Esarhaddon's official title lists was an important early step in presenting himself as a legitimate Babylonian king, a claim expressed in terms of Babylonia's own royal traditions.

[171] [illegible] and the Harran inscriptions (III: 2, pp. [illegible]). [illegible] Babylonian destruction, which [illegible] Assyrian royal titles and politics, and [illegible] Marduk and Nabû [illegible] Sennacherib's chosen pattern. For other possible [illegible] Babylonia in the [illegible]

[172] Except for short back-inscriptions, where [illegible] Esarhaddon wrote styling himself explicitly "king of Babylonia" [illegible] emphasizing [illegible] Marduk's term in the highly religious [illegible] Babylonia, the more [illegible] was used in [illegible] Mum A and Mum A. Both [illegible] Babylonian [illegible] and [illegible] to a foreign audience. As a matter of [illegible] the [illegible] inscriptions were probably not [illegible] high public visibility. Esarhaddon's public [illegible] title of Babylonia from the first, but [illegible] Babylonia until well into the reign.

[173] The Assyrian kings [illegible] "governor of the gods" [illegible] Shalmaneser III and Assurnasirpal II: "governor of the gods Bēl and Marduk" and "governor of Nabû and Marduk" (Adapa III); "governor of the gods" (Adad-nirari I, Shalmaneser I, and Tukulti-Ninurta I); and "governor of the gods and kings" (Adad-nirari II, Ashur-dan II, Ashur-nirari II, Nabû-nirari III, and perhaps Ashur-bēl-kala). For Babylonian kings as "governor of Enlil" (Nazimaruttaš of Akkad and Nabû-apla-iddina, No. Series 200: iii).

[174] "With the shepherdship of the Greater Sea you ruled my lands" (Babylon A, Ep. D, ll. 22–23). Although the god is not designated by name here, it is clearly Marduk, whose appeal under is discussed in Episode D, immediately before this passage.

Another aspect of Esarhaddon's effort to present himself in Babylonia as an essentially Babylonian king was his enactment of an ancient southern royal ritual: the bearing of a tablet's basket by the king as part of ceremonial preparations for the building of a temple.[illegible] The enactment of this royal ritual, which Esarhaddon introduced into his foundation-laying ceremonies for Esagila in Babylon, publicly presented Esarhaddon in Babylonia in a role formerly reserved for southern kings alone.

Esarhaddon's accounts of his own "bearing of the basket" as part of the inaugural ceremonies for establishing work at Esagila and later at Kalhu in Assur are, as we will see, make no explicit mention, however, of royal basket-bearing as an ancient southern activity. In fact, these passages make no reference to the history of the ceremony at all. If Esarhaddon is to be understood as deliberately performing a southern ceremony, in these two settings, a dramatically public how-to-outbid-royal-predecessors by an Assyrian king, then we must establish the links between the ceremony Esarhaddon performed at and the ceremony that was performed by earlier kings of the south, and we must further establish that Esarhaddon and his contemporaries were aware of the ceremony's historical significance.

The evidence for the early practice of basket-bearing in the south, however, is complicated and problematic. Only one text, a set of building inscriptions from the time of the ancient Sumerian ruler Gudea of Lagash (ca. 2130), offers a verbal description of the early practice of basket-bearing by a ruler. Historiographically evidence for the ceremony is not verbal but iconographic, consisting of basket-bearing figures depicted on plaques and of small statues. The earliest piece of evidence goes back to the time of the Sumerian ruler Ur-Nanshe, who governed the city-state of Lagash in southern Babylonia around 2500. It consists of a carved limestone plaque showing a ruler who carries a steepsided basket on his head while his family and courtiers look on, [illegible] label

[illegible]

a label carved on the plaque confirms that the basket-bearing figure is Ur-Nanše, and a brief inscription near the figure lists temples built by him, implying a context of temple-building for the scene that the plaque depicts.

The next piece of evidence for basket-bearing by a ruler, in roughly chronological order, is the set of building inscriptions mentioned above. Written in the reign of Gudea, temple-builder and ruler of Lagaš around 2130, the inscriptions include an account of how the ruler carried a basket as part of ceremonial preparations for building the temple Eninnu. In these texts, Gudea, after a night of vigil and prayer, begins the building rituals for Eninnu by entering the temple area carrying a "holy basket" on his head, accompanied by various gods. He proceeds to perform a variety of ritual actions, including the beating of drums and the making and assuming of a special brick.

> The holy basket and the [illegible] brick-mold [illegible] in the temple [illegible] he carried with head high he went. The goddess Gatumdug went in front of him, the goddess Igalima went behind him, the god Ninĝirsu [illegible] the god took him by the hand. The goddesses [illegible] the brick-mold. Copper kettle-drum and alabaster [illegible] were placed [illegible] Gudea. [illegible] the strings [illegible] and the brick is prepared. [illegible] with KLSM plans. Preparing [illegible] wood is used, [illegible] aspects. [illegible] the holy basket [illegible] the [illegible] Gudea provides [illegible] the brick-mold, he [illegible] the operation [illegible] the [illegible] the holy basket [illegible] (cf. A. XVIII, 20–27)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Although the precise meaning of each step in the ritual is not made explicit, it is evident that the ceremonies were intended to solemnize the beginning of the temple's construction. Gudea's carrying of the basket is presented as a central part of the elaborate series of rituals, it introduces the ceremonies ("the holy basket and the effective brick-mold of destiny in the temple . . . he carried; with head high he went"), and it reappears to introduce the brick-making that is the climax of this section of the text ("He carried the holy basket, he put together the brick-mold, he carried out the operation perfectly"). In the summary statement that concludes the account of the ceremonies, carrying the basket appears as the central element, emblematic of the dedicatory ceremonies as a whole: "Gudea, the builder of the temple, in the temple put the basket on his head like a holy crown; he laid the foundation, erecting the walls on the ground" (Cyl. A, XX, ll. 24–26).

Gudea's account is important for our purposes because it establishes the characteristic elements of the basket-bearing ceremony in this early period: that it was a ritual act, that it was performed by the ruler himself, and that it was part of ceremonies marking the beginning of temple construction. These elements, as we shall see, are all characteristics of Esarhaddon's basket-bearing ceremony as well.

Gudea's reign also marks the first appearance of a series of small figurines, ca. 10–12" in height, each representing a male figure with shaven head, dressed in a simple kilt and raising both hands to support a shallow basket that he carries on his head. [illegible] For a picture of a typical basket-bearing figurine, see plate II. [illegible] These figures were usually deposited in brick boxes set into the floors or walls of temples, often accompanied by deposits of beads and precious materials.[illegible] The appearance of these basket-bearing statues in the time of Gudea, whose inscriptions stress that he personally performed the basket-bearing rituals, makes it likely that they were intended, despite the simple dress of the figures, as representations of the ruler; this conclusion is supported by the appearance of a brief, label-like inscription on most such figures, naming a ruler and a building project he sponsored.[illegible] These figurines, and the cun-

PLATE TWO

Enameled copper figurine showing Ur-Nanshe of Ur, 2112-2095 as a basket-bearer (The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

texts in which they are found, offer further evidence for an early basket-bearing ceremony performed by rulers and associated with building.

Basket-bearing figurines continued to be used as a standard element in foundation deposits by the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur (Ur III), who led the cities of the Mesopotamian south in the period that followed (ca. 2100–2000). Richard Ellis's study of Mesopotamian foundation deposits lists twenty-two extant basket-bearing figurines from this period, unearthed at the cities of Ur, Nippur, Girsu, and Lagash, and even in the distant Elamite city of Susa, and representing the kings Ur-Namma, Šulgi, Amar-Sin and Šu-Sin; additional examples of the figurines have since come to light in further excavations at Nippur.[21] These basket-bearing figurines are a characteristic element of Ur III foundation deposits and suggest widespread use of the royal basket-bearing ceremony in that period. In addition, a stele showing the Third Dynasty ruler Ur-Namma carrying a basket as part of ritual activities associated with building[22] adds further evidence that the ritual was associated with the ruler and with temple-building activities. Figurines of basket-bearing kings continue to appear through the reigns of Warad-Sin (1834–1823) and Rim-Sin (1822–1763) of the Dynasty of Larsa, which eventually succeeded Ur as the strongest power in southern Mesopotamia. These Larsa figures attest to a continued interest in royal basket-bearing in southern Mesopotamia into the eighteenth century.[23]

The basket-bearing figurines of Rim-Sin, however, are the last evidence of any kind, documentary or iconographic, for the basket-bearing ceremony until Esarhaddon's inscription describes his performance of a basket-bearing ceremony some eleven hundred years later, a lacuna which suggests that the ceremony may have fallen into disuse at some time in this long period.[24]

[21] See Ellis, "Foundation Deposits," 24–26, and 29–31. For the more recent finds at Nippur, see Richard L. Zettler, "Excavations at Nippur, 1988–1990: Preliminary Report," *Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 26 (1993): 7–14, which reports the discovery of two more [illegible] figurines of Ur-Namma from the temple of Enlil. See Richard L. Zettler, "Excavations at Nippur, 1991–1993: Preliminary Report," *Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 28 (1994): 7–14, which includes photos of a statuette of Šulgi from the Enlil temple. See also Richard L. Zettler, "A Report of the Excavations at Nippur, Iraqi Kurdistan, 1994–1995," *Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 31 (1996): 7–14, which reports the discovery of the Ur III ruler Šu-Sin in the Enlil temple.

[22] See, H. Gary Frayne, *The Ur-Namma Inscriptions* (Yale University, 1985), 50–51, and pl. 110, and Jean-Pierre Pettinato and Hans Gebhard, "Die Ur-Namma-Stele," *Iraq* 51 (1989): 43–46.

[23] Ellis, "Foundation Deposits," 32.

[24] There are [illegible] textual, iconographic and documentary evidence for Babylonian rulers during this period, [illegible] of basket-bearing rituals, [illegible] appear. Figurines of [illegible] appear in foundation deposits, however, but none of the figurines of Rim-Sin [illegible] basket-bearing. For a summary of the evidence see Elizabeth Douglas Van Buren, "Foundation Deposits," [illegible] Van Buren's examples include bottle-shaped [illegible] from the reign of the Kassite king [illegible] (1400–1359 BC) and Assyrian deposits from the 13th century [illegible] (1365–1330 BC), and from Neo-Assyrian times [illegible] (883–859).

Ellis, using documentary evidence, argues that basket-bearing probably continued under-

Despite the possible discontinuity, there is considerable evidence that Esarhaddon and his contemporaries knew of the ancient ceremony, at least in outline, and were aware of its antiquity. Their knowledge of the ancient ceremony is suggested in part by the marked similarities between the ceremony in its early form and Esarhaddon's performance of it, as we will see shortly. The Assyrians' familiarity with the ceremony is further suggested by three unusual stelae from Babylonia, two showing Esarhaddon's son Assurbanipal and one showing his older son Šamaš-šumu-ukin as basket-bearing kings. Each of these stelae depicts the king in question and carries a text describing one of his building projects in Babylonia (see plates III and IV). In each case the figure is clearly identified as a king by his characteristic Assyrian royal hat and clothing. The king is represented, however, in the stereotyped pose characteristic of the ancient basket-bearing figurines, facing forward with both arms raised to support a basket balanced on his head. The stelae are particularly striking because the two Assyrian kings are depicted with their faces turned toward the viewer, although in Assyrian iconographic tradition, kings represented in bas-relief were always presented with the face in profile, even when the body faced forward.[59] The baskets on the heads of the kings and the unmistakable familiarity of the pose are indications that the figures of the Assyrian kings on the three stelae were intended as allusions to the basket-bearing figurines of the ancient rulers of the south.

The familiarity with the ancient figurines which these stelae reveal suggests that the figurines themselves were the medium through which the Assyrians learned of the ancient Babylonian ceremony, if it had indeed fallen into disuse centuries earlier. The figurines, as we have noted, were customarily buried in the walls or floors of temples, the restoration of such temples

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copied between the time of Rim-Sin and Esarhaddon.[illegible] The evidence, however, consists of a single [illegible] basket-bearing [illegible] in Assyria [illegible] which [illegible] basket-bearing [illegible] the purpose of the basket-bearing [illegible] during [illegible] I remain uncertain, however, that royal brickmaking and basket-bearing were always performed together. [illegible] descriptions of brickmaking [illegible] references to brickmaking by Assyrian kings [illegible] Esarhaddon [illegible] the basket [illegible] basket-bearing [illegible] brickmaking [illegible] possible that royal basket-bearing [illegible] brickmaking in Assyria [illegible] basket-bearing was being practiced [illegible] royal basket-bearing during the more than one thousand years between the reigns of Rim-Sin and Esarhaddon.

[59] See, for example, the [illegible] of [illegible] II [illegible] (Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, pl. [illegible]), where [illegible] the head is turned sharply to give a profile view. For representative examples of [illegible] Assyrian kings depicted in bas-relief, see Frankfort, pls. [illegible]. For [illegible] Babylonian [illegible] depicting kings, see Frankfort, pls. [illegible]. In both Assyria and Babylonia, kings were depicted in frontal view only when sculpted in the round or on seals.

PLATE THREE

Red sandstone stele, found in the Nabu temple at Borsippa showing Assurbanipal as a basket-bearer; an inscription on the back and side of the stele names the king and describes his reconstruction of the Nabu temple
(BM 90963; photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

PLATE FOUR

Red sandstone stele found in the Nabu temple at Borsippa showing Sennacherib-kinsu-ukin as a baker-boy; here again the inscription on the back names the king and describes his reconstruction of the Nabu temple. BM 90920.
photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

usually involved leveling dilapidated walls and searching for original foundations, in the course of which builders could hardly have avoided finding foundation boxes containing the basket-bearing figurines. By this means, Babylonians would have remained familiar with the figurines even if the ceremony itself had been long discontinued.[56] When Esarhaddon's grandfather Sargon began sponsoring temple repairs in Babylonia, Assyrians, as well as Babylonians, were brought into direct contact with southern sites containing such deposits. These deposits survived not only to Sargon II's day, but even into our own time. Modern excavations of the Eanna temple at Uruk, which Sargon repaired, uncovered six foundation boxes, four with contents intact, and each including a basket-bearing figurine depicting an Ur III ruler.[57] There is ample evidence, moreover, that Mesopotamian kings were interested in such foundation deposits and aware of the information contained in them.[58] It is not surprising, then, that Assyrians in Esarhaddon's time knew about the Babylonian basket-bearing ceremony and were aware of its great antiquity. In choosing to perform the royal ceremony that the ancient figurines depicted, Esarhaddon was assuming a public role once played by Babylonia's ancient kings, implying to the Babylonians that he himself was the king in whom Babylonia's ancient traditions might find new life.[59] The great

[56] One possible source for the information for Assyrians would have been Babylonian priests resident at Esarhaddon's court, such as Urad-Ea, the son-in-law of a prominent priest of Eridu who was himself a priest and exorcist for Esarhaddon. Parpola, 2000, 11–p. 48.

[57] Ibid.

[58] [illegible] kings [illegible] and to carry the foundation inscriptions of earlier kings [illegible] Assyrian inscriptions and a Hittite [illegible] of Esarhaddon's [illegible] Ur III [illegible] the special [illegible] gold, silver, [illegible] and placed them in their foundations [illegible] Eanna [illegible] Nabonidus [illegible] Sargon, 23–24 and 32.

[59] [illegible] Adad-nirari to [illegible] Adad-nirari III. [illegible] Esarhaddon's Assur-Sarnuqa-Nineveh [illegible] Esarhaddon's [illegible] Babylonian king. [illegible] Assyrians were [illegible] but were also reading them.

[60] [illegible] Mesopotamian [illegible] with the implication that Greek ceremonies rather than Mesopotamian [illegible] Esarhaddon [illegible] Paul-Wessels, [illegible] Mesopotamian [illegible] Moreover, the differences between the basket-bearing ceremonies of Mesopotamia and Greece—that the Greek baskets were borne by unmarried women dancers for their beauty, rather than by kings, and that the Greek ceremonies

antiquity of the basket-bearing ceremony gave Esarhaddon's performance of it special significance, recalling a time when the cities of Babylonia had been independent and powerful, and implying that under Esarhaddon's patronage the ancient cities of the south might in time regain something of their former stature.

Esarhaddon's own performance of the basket-bearing ritual is described in a series of inscriptions, most of which can be dated to the beginning years of his reign.[78] His first performance of the ceremony occurred in Babylon and is described in slightly varying accounts in Babylon A, C, D, and E (lines 21). An account of the second performance of the ritual, which took place in Assur a year later, is preserved in Assur A (iv, B 36–40).

According to the Babylon inscriptions, the first performance of the ritual was part of ceremonies marking the beginning of reconstruction work on the temple Esagila, the national religious center of Babylonia. These ceremonies were of great importance to the Babylonians, marking what they must have hoped would be a turning point in their relationship with the Assyrians. Their last Assyrian ruler, Sennacherib, had attacked Babylon, but now Esarhaddon was now about to restore the city's main temple, the center of Babylonia's national life. By personally performing an ancient Babylonian royal ritual in this prominent setting and at the very beginning of his reign, Esarhaddon was making a dramatic public statement, presenting to the Babylonians an image of himself as king that offered the possibility of a new relationship between his country and Babylonia.

In Esarhaddon's accounts of the foundation ceremonies for Esagila, the basket-bearing ceremony plays a central role. The texts begin with an account of the city's earlier destruction (lines 2–10) and assert that Esarhaddon has now been made king of Assyria by Babylon's own patron gods in order that he might repair the city of Babylon (Bab. A and D, lines 11). The king decides to undertake the repairs, omens confirm the correctness of his decision, and

[illegible]

[78] Some of the Babylon texts, although dated to the year first, beginning later, but retain the pattern of the earlier texts in their account for discussion and dates see Appendix B.

the great day approaches when work can start. Workmen are assembled, and the foundation ceremonies are performed:

> With great rejoicing, ghee, kunnu-beer and [illegible] wine, I poured out the [illegible] of the mountains. I, the king, [illegible] the ways of the excavation. In order to draw the people to the god Marduk, my great godhead, and to cause them to [illegible] his lordship, I lifted the kadunu-basket on my head, and I myself carried it. (Babylon A, i. 1–[illegible], lines 20 and 21)

The king's bearing of the basket appears here as the final step in the building ceremonies and as the climax of this section of the text, underscoring the importance of the ceremony in the king's account of his work on the temple.

The significance of the king's enactment of the ceremony in this setting was complex. On the one hand, the ceremony presented Esarhaddon as the living continuation of an ancient and exclusively Babylonian tradition of kingship. At the same time, bearing the basket symbolized the king's personal involvement in the labor of building the temple. "I myself carried it," just as modern politicians ceremonially dig the first spadefuls of earth in the construction of a new building as a visible sign of their involvement in the project. Thus Esarhaddon carried a *kadunu*-basket; moreover, gave the involvement a special meaning. This *kadunu* was an ordinary laborer's basket, not reserved for ceremonial or religious use.[illegible] By Neo-Assyrian times, it had become a metaphor for corvée labor performed for the state: the phrase *kadunu šakānu*, for example, meaning "to place the *kadunu* upon someone," had become by extension the standard expression meaning "to impose forced labor," just as *kadunu epēšu*, literally "to do the *kadunu*," had come to mean "to perform corvée work," and *amēl kadunu*, or "*kadunu* carrier," had become the term for a "basket carrier" or corvée worker.[illegible] In carrying the *kadunu*, an emblem of external physical labor, Esarhaddon was both demonstrating his substantial work for the people of Babylon assigned as laborers on the project, and also, as he tells us, "showing the people" proper respect for their god Marduk by

[illegible]

[illegible] For these expressions see the CAD "*šakānu*" 3b, "*epēšu*" 2a, and "*šakāru*" [illegible]

personally laboring for him (Babl. A, C., and E., Ep. 21), thus publicly assuming a Babylonian king's traditional role as religious leader of his people.

Esarhaddon performed the basket-bearing ceremony again a year later, this time as part of ceremonies inaugurating the reconstruction of the temple Eššara in Aššur. Eššara, as the national religious center of the north, was the Assyrian counterpart of Esagila. The foundation ceremonies performed for Eššara included some additional rituals, but were on the whole similar to the ceremonies for Esagila a year earlier. As before, the king anointed the scarp of the excavations with a mixture of pleasant liquids. He made bricks ceremoniously in brickmolds of precious woods and ivory. Then, the king says,

> I, princess slave who fear him, the great Aššur, I made the *ḫalḫappu* garment,[11] with my pure hands I made a brick. I caused the people to see the might of the great Aššur, my lord. I lifted the molten basket onto my head, and I myself carried it. In order to make the lands fear their god, I showed the people. (Assur A, iv, ll. 22–46.)

In this account, after a single sentence describing the year-long manufacture of bricks which was to follow, the text returns to further descriptions of ceremonies, so that the basket-bearing ritual is here made less central than in the Babylonian version, overshadowed by further descriptions of anointing the foundations and of the king's carrying and placement of a "first brick" (v, ll. 1–26).

It is somewhat surprising that the Babylonian ritual of basket-bearing appears at all in this quintessentially Assyrian setting. It may have been included mainly for the benefit of Babylonian emissaries present at the ceremonies, to confirm that Esarhaddon's performance of the ceremony at Esagila had not been an isolated gesture for Babylonian consumption alone, but had signaled a lasting change in royal policy. For the Assyrians, however, the possibly jarring effect of seeing the Babylonian ceremony performed in an Assyrian setting was ameliorated by surrounding it with more clearly Assyrian foundation rituals, such as the king's anointing of special mortar with which to anoint the scarp of the excavations, and his anointing of the *ḫalḫappu* with a similar mixture.[12] Its impact was perhaps also muted because the basket-bearing ritual itself was so ancient that Assyrians could easily have seen it as no more than

[11] The *ḫalḫappu* garment mentioned here [illegible] interpreted. Hebrew cognate *ḫalḫappā* denotes a basket-like vessel or equipment, perhaps a whipped-cream [illegible] "Ḫalḫappû" [illegible] that this *ḫalḫappu* was a type of garment.

[12] Cf. iv, ll. 20–22 and v, ll. 17–20 (Assyrian practice of anointing ceremonial mortar and sprinkling or anointing pleasant liquids to mollify [illegible] the wrath of the king's house). I. Starrett, Adad I, Shalmaneser I, and Esarhaddon, pp. 28–30. Secondary, 47: "Ḫalḫalû" [illegible] "to anoint," [illegible] with ceremonial mortar is an element in Assyrian building ritual.

a reference to the antiquity of kingship in Mesopotamia and to Esarhaddon as successor to that tradition.

By repeating the basket-bearing ritual in the foundation ceremonies inaugurating work on Uruk, Esarhaddon also underlined the parallel nature of the two building projects, a point made explicit in the later AsBbA text, where the reconstruction of the two temples is presented as part of a single project.[24] By the end of the reign, this parallelism was to become part of a larger pattern linking the national self-images in the two traditions. In this earlier period, however, the emphasis on the parallelism in the foundation ceremonies was probably to suggest to the Assyrians that every gift to Babylonia would be balanced by an equal or greater gift to Assyria, and in this case, that work on Uruk would balance similar attentions to Ekapada. By performing the basket-bearing ceremony in Assyria, Esarhaddon at once reassured the Babylonians of the seriousness of his commitment to their traditions, and at the same time demonstrated to the Assyrians through his personal participation in the building of Uruk that he remained the faithful servant of Assyria and her gods.

The basket-bearing ceremony is thus presented slightly differently in Babylonia and Assyria, but in each case it presents Esarhaddon in an important public event as a legitimate successor of ancient kings, as a benevolent ruler personally active in the care of his people, and as the religious leader of each nation. In Babylonia, the basket-bearing ceremony also presents him as the preserver of a uniquely Babylonian tradition. In performing the basket-bearing ritual, an act simultaneously religious and political, Esarhaddon presents himself as the embodiment of Babylonian kingship in its most traditional form.

So far we have examined Esarhaddon's use of royal titles and of ritual in the early days of his reign to present differing images of himself in Babylonia and Assyria, presenting in Babylonia the image of a genuinely Babylonian king, and in Assyria a subtly different and more Assyrian royal persona designed to reassure his own people of his continued loyalty to them, despite his attentions to Babylonia. We turn now to consider a third tool Esarhaddon used to present different royal personae to the two groups: the royal building inscriptions themselves.

We have already seen how certain individual elements of royal building inscriptions, such as the titles assigned to the king, are used to project a particular image of the ruler. The image of the king a particular inscription presents, however, is not only suggested by isolated elements in the text, but is shaped by the whole series of events the text describes, the text as a whole.

[24] "[In the month] Ab, on a propitious day, in Ekur-gegal-kalama, [bond of heaven and earth], [seat of Enlil's] rites, [the cella], I laid their foundations together. I made firm their enclosure wall." AsBbA ii [illegible]

becomes a tool for creating an image of Esarhaddon as the appropriate ruler of the nations for which that text is composed.

To identify the techniques by which this is achieved, we will begin by focusing on two building inscriptions from the same time period, one written for a building project in Assyria and the other, for a project in Babylonia, which present quite different images of Esarhaddon as king. We will then go on to consider a set of inscriptions which appear on the surface to be a single inscription commemorating work in Babylon, but which prove, on closer examination, to present similarly differentiated images of the king to different audiences.

The texts we will begin with are the Babylon A inscription, which commemorates building in the city of Babylon and is dated to the year 681, and the Assur A inscription, which commemorates building in the city of Assur and is dated to the following year.[11] In the Babylon A text, Esarhaddon appears as a remarkable Babylonian royal figure, who is only incidentally king of Assyria as well. The topic of the text, which we have already encountered in our discussion of Esarhaddon's building activities above, is the destruction of the city of Babylon and its eventual reconstruction by Esarhaddon. It begins by introducing the king, describing the city's earlier sins and its abandonment by the gods, and finally describing its destruction by a flood—a flood actually produced by Sennacherib's army, a detail that is usually not mentioned here. The inscription then describes how the gods relented and called Esarhaddon to rebuild Babylon, how the king called up workmen and began reconstruction with all necessary ritual, and how he restored the city's temple and walls and resettled its scattered inhabitants. The text concludes with the king's request for blessings from the gods of Babylon and his hope that his inscription will be treated respectfully by future kings. In presenting each of these events, the Babylon A inscription focuses on the figure of the king, emphasizing his active role in the project and presenting him consistently as ruler of Babylonia and servant of Babylonia's gods. The Babylonian character of the king is suggested from the very outset:

> Esarhaddon, great king, mighty king, king of all, king of Assyria, governor of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, favorite of the lordly lords, protégé of Ea, Asalluhi, city goddess, Sarpanitu, the queen, goddess of Babylon, that is, humble king whose rule the date of his death was manifest of their lordship

[11] For the transcription and translation of the Babylon A inscription, see Appendix IV. For Assur A, see [illegible] Babylon A text and also [illegible] Babylon A text: [illegible] Assur A: [illegible] Babylon A: [illegible] Weidner, "Neue Esarhaddon-Texte," [illegible] Babylon A: [illegible] Assur A: [illegible] Esarhaddon Historical Inscriptions," [illegible]

> and praised their strength, prayerful slave, humble, submissive, fearing their great godhead (Babylon A, Ep. 1)

This text exemplifies Esarhaddon's use of Babylonian titles and makes little reference to his Assyrian antecedents, omitting his genealogy, usually included after the titles. Instead, the passage emphasizes his role as a Babylonian ruler by using epithets claiming the gods of Babylonia as his patrons. Esarhaddon is called "favorite of the lord of lords . . . and beloved of (the goddess) Sarpanitu," "humble king who from . . . his youth was mindful of their lordship." The reference to Sarpanitu, consort of the Babylonian chief god Marduk, makes it clear that it is Marduk himself who is evoked in the phrase "lord of lords," and that it is Marduk and Sarpanitu to whom Esarhaddon is "prayerful slave." The effect of the titles and epithets is to present Esarhaddon as a ruler whose patrons are the chief gods of Babylon.

The text then turns to an account of how the city of Babylon fell from favor and was destroyed at its own gods' command (Ep. 2–9), since this was a sore subject in Babylonia, the king is not mentioned in this section, which focuses attention instead on the gods of Babylon as the instigators of the unpleasant action. With this topic out of the way, however, the scribe turns to the main subject of the text, the rebuilding of Babylon, and here the text returns to its earlier focus on the figure of the king, a focus underlined by having the king speak in the first person as he addresses Marduk, the patron deity of Babylon:

> Mr. Esarhaddon, you made close from among the assembled elder brothers in order to restore these things to their places, and your good shadow you placed over me. All my enemies you destroyed like a flood and all my opponents you killed, and you caused me to achieve my desires. In order to repay the debt of your great godhead and to render your reckoning, you tied my hands with the shepherdship of Assur (Babylon A, Ep. 11)

The passage asserts unequivocally that Esarhaddon's selection for kingship of Assyria itself came from the gods, not of Assyria, but of Babylonia, whom he addresses here, and that the purpose of his rule is to restore the shattered city of Babylon. This is the call to rule that one might expect for a Babylonian ruler, not for an Assyrian king such as Esarhaddon.

As the text moves on to describe the actual rebuilding of the city, it continues to focus on the figure of the king, setting the account in the first person so that the steps of rebuilding are presented as the king's personal actions: "I summoned all its workers . . ." (Ep. 19); "I myself bore the basket . . ." (Ep. 21); "I laid its foundation . . ." (Ep. 26). "The gods and goddesses who dwell in the midst of it, whom the flood waters . . . had carried away . . . I made them dwell in their holy places for all time . . ." (Ep. 32).

As the text draws to its conclusion, it maintains its focus on the king,

underlining his role as a Babylonian ruler. Speaking still in the first person, the king asks: "May Marduk and Sarpanitu, the gods who are my helpers, look joyfully upon my good deeds . . . the seed of my priesthood [i.e., my descendants], together with the foundation of Esagila and Babylon, may they make firm. . . ." (Ep. 39). In conclusion, the king requests that any future king among his heirs, "whose name the king of the gods, Marduk, calls to rule of the land and peoples" (Ep. 41, ll. 21–23), will respect the object on which the account of his rebuilding has been inscribed. Throughout these final passages the chief gods of Babylon, Marduk and his consort, are the only gods invoked, and Esarhaddon and his heirs are again and again to receive the right to rule from them alone.

From beginning to end, the image of the king presented by the Babylon A text is that of a Babylonian ruler. After an initial acknowledgment of Esarhaddon's role as king of Assyria, there is no further mention of the king's Assyrian connections; the text instead devotes its attentions to the king's actions on behalf of the city of Babylon and his acceptance by Babylonia's gods as rightful king of that land. The Babylon A inscription as a whole effectively presents an image of Esarhaddon as an essentially Babylonian king.

In the Assur A text, written a year later, in 670, as commemorative construction on Esagila in the city of Assur, we see in contrast Esarhaddon's Assyrian royal persona. Like Babylon A, the Assur A inscription begins its account with a list of the king's titles and epithets. In this case, however, they are almost without exception the traditional titles and epithets of an Assyrian ruler. Esarhaddon is called,

> great king, mighty king, king of all, king of the land of Assur, governor for the god Enlil, priest of the god Assur, son of Sennacherib, great king, mighty king, king of all, king of the land of Assur, governor for the god Enlil, priest of the god Assur, king who from his youth had feared the words of Assur, Sin, Bel, and Nabu . . . (Assur A, ll. [illegible])

The first five lines—"great king, mighty king, king of all, king of the land of Assur"—include the most traditional of the royal titles used by the kings of Assyria. These are followed by the title *ukkin Enlil* ("protector, or governor, for the god Enlil"), somewhat less common in Assyrian studies, but of great antiquity.[illegible] It had been first introduced by Shamshi-Adad I (1813–1781) and had become a frequent element in the official titles of Assyrian kings from the time of Assur-uballit I (1365–1330) on. It was, moreover, a title that had never been used in association with Babylonian kings. It is followed by *šangû Assur*, or "priest of the god Assur,"[illegible] a standard royal Assyrian title used here

[illegible] See also "Ukkin" on a fragment of a commentary of the title. See also M. J. Seux, *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes*, 290 ff.

[illegible] Written with the ideogram SANGA. Seux notes (ibid., note 21) that the sign can be read

to emphasize the king's connection to the national god Aššur, to whom the temple under repair belonged. The titles assigned to Esarhaddon's father Sennacherib, which follow, repeat exactly the titles assigned to Esarhaddon himself, underlining his role as successor and heir to the Assyrian royal line, whose work on Esagila he was now about to continue. The epithets conclude with a reference to Esarhaddon's piety toward Aššur and the other great gods worshipped in Assyria,[7] part of the traditional image of Assyrian rulers. Together, the titles and epithets set the tone for the document that follows.

After a passage describing the appearance of omens favorable to Esarhaddon's reign comes an account of the actual restoration of the temple, which expands the characterization of Esarhaddon as a traditional Assyrian king. The history of the Esagila temple is used to link Esarhaddon to the earlier Assyrian kings who worked on the temple, with Esarhaddon calling each of them in turn, "my forefather, priest of Aššur" (ln. II 17 ff.). This passage concludes with the statement that Esarhaddon is now following in their footsteps by restoring Esagila. As in Babylon A, the description of the actual restoration work that follows emphasizes the king's personal role in the work by having him speak in the first person: "I, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, assembled the peoples of the lands . . ." (ln. II 7–13); "I anointed the scarp of the excavation . . ." (l. 22); "I myself carried the basket . . ." (l. 38); "its foundations . . . I laid" (ln. II 8–11); and "that temple from its foundations to its parapets I erected, I completed . . ." (ln. II 1–3).

As its climax, the Aššur A text describes how the gods were returned to their places in the rebuilded temple: "Aššur, king of the gods, I made dwell in the lofty cella of his lordship . . . Ninurta and Nusku, (and other) gods and goddesses, I made firm in their positions, right and left . . ." (ln. II 28–30). It is noteworthy that the Assyrian god Aššur, rather than Marduk, is here named as "king of the gods." The contrast between Babylon A and Aššur A is equally clear in the king's requests for blessing, which follow: the prayer is here addressed to Aššur, again styled "king of the gods" (ln. I 17), and the request that future rulers care for the building, phrased just as it is in the Baby-

[illegible]

[7] [illegible] Aššur, the god Sin, Nabû, and Marduk (and another name for Marduk, Bêl) [illegible] Ištar [illegible] Ištar [illegible] Assyrian rulers [illegible] Marduk [illegible] Assyrian worship, a point that will be discussed in greater length in the chapter that follows.

lon A text, is now addressed not to Marduk, but to Aššur, and it is he who will "name their names for the rule of the land and peoples" (viii, ll. 4–8).

The similarities between the two building inscriptions, Babylon A and Assur A, are evident, but the images of the king that the texts present to their respective audiences are markedly different. In Babylon A, Esarhaddon's role as king of Assyria is passed over almost in silence; if that text were by some accident our only source for Esarhaddon, we might almost think him a Babylonian ruler. In Assur A, in contrast, Esarhaddon is presented as the embodiment of Assyrian kingship and the heir to Assyria's ancient royal traditions. In each of these texts, the king speaks in the voice of his Assyrian or Babylonian *persona*. In each case, the entire inscription is used to shape and refine the image of the king which that text presents to its intended audience in Assyria or Babylonia.[59]

The idea that different texts, projecting two different images of the king and his activities, were being prepared by Esarhaddon's scribes for audiences in Assyria and Babylonia is further confirmed when we examine the larger group of texts to which Babylon A belongs. Borger's Babylon A–G inscriptions, the building inscriptions written to commemorate Esarhaddon's public works projects in Babylon. It is surprising to discover that even here, in a group of texts describing a single set of building projects in a single city, two different images of the king emerge. In some of the texts, Esarhaddon is presented as essentially Babylonian in his sympathies, responsive to Babylon's plight and tactful in describing her difficulties, while in other texts, he appears in contrast as a ruler who is bluntly critical of the Babylonians' behavior and evidently well satisfied with their subsequent downfall. The two groups of texts, as we will see, were in fact found in different locations, some in Babylonia, the others in Assyria, and the differences in outlook that they reflect again seem intended to appeal to the different national audiences in those two areas. This difference in outlook between the two groups of texts makes the Babylon inscriptions unique among Assyrian building inscriptions for a single project, which ordinarily reflect a single uniform point of view; the unusual step of preparing two sets of building inscriptions for this project underlines

[59] That the text was intended for one audience in Assyria and the other, for one in Babylonia, is suggested not only by the general evidence [illegible] of the texts in the sites in question. [illegible] Assur A was found in Aššur, thus of course that the Assur people preserved [illegible] Babylon A. Babylon A was found in the ruins of Babylon and was [illegible] Another copy, Babylon A[illegible], was found in the Babylon [illegible] Nippur, and there it was finally preserved in a Babylonian audience in that city. [illegible] building of Babylon, [illegible] three training copies of Babylon A were later [illegible] in Aššur, suggesting that it represents an Assyrian record of the text, or possibly a presentation copy placed in the Assur temple.

the importance to Esarhaddon's administration of presenting different images of the king and his activities to audiences in the two nations.

The differences between the two sets of texts are relatively subtle, and their effects is somewhat muted by the many similarities, perhaps reflecting an intentional effort to minimize any offense to Esarhaddon's Babylonian audiences who might be present at the public presentation of the Assyrian versions of the text. The texts are, in fact, so similar in broad outline that they were published by Borger in a single composite text, "Babylon A–G," with variant accounts of each incident printed side by side. Two of the texts Borger included in the group, Babylon A[illegible] and E, I will not discuss here because they are too fragmentary to permit an overall analysis, and a third, Babylon D, must also be set aside from the rest of the group since it represents a different genre of text, not a building inscription but more probably the formal legal record of the king's grant of special privileges to Babylon.[illegible] The two remaining texts, Babylon A, B, C, F, and G, appear on first examination to be a series of building inscriptions for a single project, offering parallel, at times identical, accounts of the various stages of Esarhaddon's rebuilding of Babylon. When we examine the texts more closely, however, a pattern of differences emerges that separates the texts into two distinct groups and refers to important events in their intended use.

These differences occur in three particular sections of the text, the historical summary, a section that explains why the reconstruction project at hand had become necessary. Ordinarily, such historical summaries in Assyrian building inscriptions explain that the building in question had grown old, had fallen down, or had become overcrowded for current needs. In this case, however, Babylon needed restoration because Esarhaddon's father had sacked it in the course of a campaign against Babylonia. Faced with the awkward problem of having to describe this Assyrian attack on the city before they could celebrate Esarhaddon's restoration of it, Esarhaddon's scribes fell back upon the notion that the Babylonians themselves had caused their city's destruction, having behaved so badly that their gods had punished them by ordering the city's downfall. It is noteworthy that this explanation, usually used by a defeated

[illegible]

city to explain the failure of its gods to protect itself, is here used by the conqueror instead. This approach consequently reduces Nemuchenda to the role of an insignificant agent of the gods, of no little importance that he is not even mentioned in the texts.

All five texts begin by describing the situation in Babylon which led, they suggest, to the city's downfall.[7] In Babylon A, C, and E, the accounts of the aftermath. Babylon E, the most recent, avoids any reference to wrongdoing and simply states, "Before my time, the great lord Marduk was angry, he let storms blow and Enagila and Babylon [illegible] Babylon A and C offer more explanation: "At that time, in the reign of a former king, there were evil signs in the land: Sutter and Akkad [illegible] The people who lived in the city answered 'yes' and 'no' to one another. They spoke 'lies.' They pushed away and neglected their gods. Their goddesses towards their ordained places, they made away. [illegible] In the precincts of the temple, Esagila, a place where entry is forbidden, they laid their hands, and gold and silver and precious stones they gave to the land of Elam as a gift [illegible]" (Lines 2, 3, and 4).

While this account is clearly comparable to the Babylonian, it seems mild when it is compared to the version offered by Babylon B and C, where the events leading to the downfall of the city are described with a certain zeal: "[When] in the reign of a former king, there were [illegible] portents in the sky [illegible] Violence and murder was collected upon the people, and they oppressed the weak. They gave them to the strong." Within the city there was oppression and accepting of bribes, and daily worship was

[illegible]

they stole one another's goods. "The son in the marketplace has raised his father; the slave [has disobeyed] his master; [the female slave] does not listen to her mistress" (Ep. 5). And if this weren't bad enough, the Babylon B text adds, in a more fragmented line, "leaving infringed the taboos of the sacred meal . . ." and concludes . . . the [regular offering] rites discontinued, and they plotted conspiracy" (Ep. 5, c3). Although all five texts are critical of the Babylonians, only Babylon B and C are truly scathing. While Babylon A, C, and E accuse the Babylonians of deceitfulness in their dealings with one another and neglect of their cultic duties, Babylon B and C rail against murder and oppression of the weak and accuse the Babylonians of disregarding the fundamental relationships of parent and child, master and slave, on which the order of society depended. Babylon B further expands the list to include neglect of the gods and conspiracy.

In the next section, the texts deal with the god Marduk's reaction to this wrongdoing. Here the differences in tone are subtler, but still clearly evident. Babylon E, which had already mentioned Marduk's anger, now adds, "His heart was angry, he felt wrath" (Ep. 5). Babylon A and C report, "The Lord of the gods, Marduk, flared up in anger. He considered bad things for the leveling of the country, and the destruction of its people" (Ep. 5). Babylon B and C, however, combine the elements of both and add further detail: "The Lord saw this and his heart grew angry, his bowels burned. The Lord of the gods, the lord of the lands, considered bad things for breaking up the land and the people. His heart was angry . . . enough to level the land and cause its people to disappear, and in his mouth was placed a curse of hardship" (Ep. 5). Babylon B and C append to this passage a description of unbearable astral omens (Ep. 6), extending the image of a world out of joint.

The texts conclude their historical summaries with an account of the city's destruction. Babylon E describes the painful event in a single sentence: "Through the anger of his heart and the burning of his bowels, Esagil and Babylon became wasteland and turned into empty fields" (Ep. 5 and 7, ll. 7–11). Babylon A and C, this time joined by Babylon B, are also relatively brief: "The Arahtu Canal, river of abundance, was brought to [the stage of] angry flood, violent onrush of water, mighty inundation, an image of the deluge, and the water swept over the city and its dwellings and made them a ruin" (Ep. 7). Babylon C, however, once again offers further detail: "Swamp reed and willows grew thick in the midst of her and sent up shoots. Birds of the heavens and fish of the waters deep beyond counting were there in the midst of her" (Ep. 7). In this version, downtown Babylon has become a lake, an unfortunate end for a beautiful city.

It is clear that the Babylon inscriptions, superficially so similar, fall into two distinct groups with significant differences in tone and outlook. Babylon A, C, and E, on the one hand, are relatively sympathetic to the Babylonians'

situation, outline the Babylonians' shortcomings only to the extent necessary to justify the Assyrian destruction of the city, and describe that destruction as laconically as possible.[22] Babylon B and C, in contrast, sharply criticize the Babylonians' behavior and describe the city's destruction and subsequent plight with a wealth of detail that suggests a certain satisfaction in the city's misfortunes. Esarhaddon, as the protagonist in the texts and the king responsible for their composition, emerges as a markedly different figure in the two accounts. In Babylon A, C, and E, he appears as a king fully sympathetic to Babylonian concerns, while in Babylon B and C, he appears as a ruler who is sharply critical of the Babylonians and well satisfied with the city's punishment.

It seems clear that this set of building inscriptions, in a departure from normal Mesopotamian practice, was prepared not only for the people of Babylon—the city that the inscriptions discuss—but also for an audience in Assyria. Indeed, the boiling tone of Babylon B and C would seem to make them appropriate for use only in an Assyrian setting, since the presentation of such texts in Babylonia would have appeared as a deliberately offensive gesture. Esarhaddon, as we have seen, was in the midst of an extensive and expensive southern building campaign designed to demonstrate to the Babylonians the benefits of being loyal subjects. His performance of the basket-bearing ceremony and his use of Babylonian titles seem calculated to encourage further Babylonian acceptance of his rule. It is hardly likely that Esarhaddon would have undermined these efforts by gratuitously offending the Babylonians in these documents assuring his benevolent attentions to their capital city and holy places.

It is significant that although most of the Babylon building inscriptions were brought or found in Babylonia, the prism inscribed with the Babylon C text—and probably the pieces of tablet inscribed with the Babylon B text,

[22] Moortgat, "Babylon und Uruk," [illegible] Esarhaddon," *Bonner Jahrbücher* [illegible] [illegible] Babylon [illegible] Assyrian [illegible] Babylonian [illegible] Assyrian [illegible] Babylonian [illegible]

[illegible] Oberhuber, "Die Inschriften Sargons II aus Khorsabad," [illegible] Esarhaddon's Assur A inscription [illegible] Babylonian [illegible] Babylonian [illegible] Babylonian [illegible]

as well—were found in the Assyrian city of Nineveh and are written in Assyrian script, lending further support to the suggestion that these more critical texts were intended for use in Assyria. Even within the set of inscriptions written to describe Esarhaddon's work in the single city of Babylon, Esarhaddon's scribes found it necessary to compose two quite distinct accounts presenting different images of the king and his activities to the two nations.

In the context of Esarhaddon's reign, it is not difficult to see why it was felt necessary to create two separate sets of building inscriptions for this particular project. The various texts prepared for Babylonia served the normal function of building inscriptions, announcing the project publicly at its beginning and reporting on progress as construction advanced. At the same time, they offered Esarhaddon an opportunity to justify to the Babylonians the earlier Assyrian destruction of the city. While the justification offered was probably not particularly appealing to the Babylonians, it nevertheless was couched in terms of their own traditions, offering them a way to save face if they should prove willing to forget the past and accept Esarhaddon's offer of peace and prosperity in exchange for an end to Babylonian resistance. The set of building inscriptions prepared for use in Babylon thus had an important function in laying the groundwork for reconciliation with Babylonia.

It is perhaps not so obvious that it was equally important to explain the reconstruction of Babylon to the Assyrians as well. In order not to offend his own countrymen, Esarhaddon had to find an adequate justification for rebuilding a city that they had only recently gone to considerable effort and expense to destroy. The Babylon inscriptions offered such a justification (in Ep. II) by asserting that the god Marduk, relenting of his anger against Babylonia, had decided to reduce the number of years he had ordained as the time of Babylon's abandonment, changing it from seventy to eleven, thus permitting immediate reconstruction of the city and, in addition, shifting all responsibility for the decision to rebuild from Esarhaddon to the god.[21]

Although this argument needed to reach the Assyrians, it would not in itself have been offensive to the Babylonians and would not have required the creation of special Assyrian versions of the texts.[22] There was a second message, however, that Esarhaddon needed to present to the Assyrians, and it was this message that required the more critical tones appropriate for Assyrian audiences alone. The rebuilding of Babylon was the first public works

[21] The explanation is offered in Babylon A, B, and D. The text of Babylon C is difficult to reconstruct, because much was missing and because the extant text suggests that events were presented in a somewhat different order in this version than in the other texts in the group. Although there is no trace of this passage in the extant portions of Babylon C, it could have appeared in the broken sections, possibly in the missing first section of inscription.

[22] Accounts of Marduk's change of heart do not appear in two Babylonian versions, Babylon A and C, where they serve as announcements of Marduk's reconciliation with the city, providing a logical complement for the theological sequence of sin, punishment, and forgiveness.

project of Esarhaddon's reign, announced early in his first year, the equivalent Assyrian project, the rebuilding of Ekarra in Assur, would not be organized and announced until the following year. In the meantime, Esarhaddon needed to reassure the Assyrians of his unwavering commitment to them, despite his conspicuous activities in Babylon. The Assyrian versions of the Babylon building inscriptions performed this function, allowing the king to speak of the rebuilding of Babylon in terms that showed him to be unequivocally Assyrian in his attitude toward the project, critical of the Babylonians and well satisfied with their punishment. The preparation of two contrasting sets of inscriptions for this single building project is an unusual and striking example of Esarhaddon's use of building inscriptions as tools of propaganda, vehicles for presenting differing images of the king and his activities to Babylonian and Assyrian audiences.

In order to be used for such a purpose, however, the inscriptions had to be accessible to a contemporary audience, and there is a substantial body of opinion among contemporary scholars that this was not the case. A. Leo Oppenheim, for example, argues in *Ancient Mesopotamia* that Assyrian and Babylonian building inscriptions were typically buried in the buildings whose construction they described, making them apparently inaccessible to contemporaries. Other building inscriptions, although displayed in palaces or temples, were erected in places that must have been dark enough to make reading such texts exceedingly difficult, even for people skilled in reading cuneiform.[22] Oppenheim argues that building inscriptions were thus not intended for contemporary audiences, but only for the gods or for future kings who might unearth the texts in the process of rebuilding, an argument that has gained wide acceptance.[23]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

There are, however, several mechanisms by which even buried building inscriptions might well have reached contemporary audiences despite the eventual burial of the texts, and there is considerable evidence from Esarhaddon's own reign that seems to require the conclusion that such transmission to contemporary audiences in fact occurred. Two aspects of the Nineveh A text (one of Esarhaddon's later building inscriptions) seem puzzling, for example, if the text was intended only for gods and future kings, but are easily accounted for if it was intended as well for an audience of Esarhaddon's contemporaries. The Nineveh A text is one of the longest and most important of Esarhaddon's building inscriptions, written relatively late in the reign to commemorate Esarhaddon's construction of a large palace and arsenal complex at Nineveh. The first element suggesting that the text was prepared with a contemporary audience in mind is the long introductory passage (ll. 2) describing the struggles that accompanied Esarhaddon's rise to power, a subject that earlier texts had passed over in silence. Hayim Tadmor has made a study of ancient Near Eastern accounts of this type describing how a particular king rose to power; accounts that he terms "autobiographical apologies." He begins by noting that while such royal apologies had a wide distribution in both space and time in the ancient Near East, they nevertheless shared a common pattern: "royal apologies were typically included in documents composed on behalf of rulers who had experienced difficulties in reaching the throne."[16] In addition, Tadmor points out, the royal apologies did not, in the case of Assyrian kings, appear in inscriptions until well into the king's reign, at the point when he was preparing to transmit a successor to the throne. At that juncture, Tadmor suggests, the royal apology was introduced to establish the legitimacy of the ruler, despite his early difficulties in becoming king. The apology offered a format in which the king could present his own version of his rise to power, minimizing its difficulties and asserting his gods' early, unwavering commitment to his side despite human opposition, an approach evidently intended to preclude later challenges to the legitimacy of his chosen successor. Since it was contemporaries whose support the king was trying to enlist to insure a peaceful transfer of power to his chosen successor at the time of his death, Tadmor's model implies a contemporary audience for any text in which a royal apology occurs.[17]

Cancik, et al., esp. 302, who acknowledges the difficulties in concluding that foundation deposit inscriptions received a broad contemporary public, and yet is hard pressed to deny the possibility. Cancik argues that such texts were intended primarily for such gods, such as environmental protection, to commemorate, rather than to be read by a human audience. Nevertheless, the difficulties he suggests are not insurmountable.

[16] "Autobiographical Apologies in the Royal Assyrian Literature," in *History, Historiography and Interpretation*, Hayim Tadmor and M. Weinfeld, ed., 36-67.

[17] Tadmor himself does not make this conclusion explicit, but notes, "It is not unre-

It is thus significant that Esarhaddon's Nineveh A inscription, as Tadmor notes, fits the classic pattern of royal apology texts precisely. The story of Esarhaddon's accession disorders (see, as we have seen) was completely omitted from texts composed in the early years of Esarhaddon's reign.[1] The account we have followed above comes primarily from the Nineveh A inscription, dated in four copies to 673, some year before Esarhaddon appointed two of his sons to succeed him on the thrones of Assyria and Babylonia, respectively.[2] If gods and future kings had been the only intended audience for his inscriptions, there would have been little point in omitting the account of Esarhaddon's difficulties from earlier building inscriptions, since the Nineveh A text, which does tell the story, would have been equally available to a future audience.

It seems likely that the reason for Esarhaddon's silence in the early texts about his problems in seeking the throne, and for his discussion of those problems in the later Nineveh A text, is the one Tadmor suggests, that he wished to avoid raising the dangerous question of his right to rule at the beginning of the reign, when that right had not been fully contested, but needed to raise the question and deal with it directly as soon as his position on the throne was relatively secure. By then, the likelihood of an immediate rebellion based on that issue was small, and it had become necessary to break the silence and lay to rest any doubts about the legitimacy of Esarhaddon's claims to the throne, lest those doubts later create problems for the son he was about to appoint to succeed him.[3] The absence of the apology passage in texts dating from early in the reign, and its inclusion in the later Nineveh A text, written one year before the appointment of his successors, makes sense only if Esarhaddon expected those inscriptions to reach an audience of his contemporaries.

The presence of a royal apology in Nineveh A is not the only indication that Esarhaddon expected that text (and by implication, other building inscriptions as well) to reach contemporary audiences. Additional evidence is pro-

[illegible] Assyrian apologies, [illegible] apology to the gods [illegible] political aims or the prince or some potential danger to the [illegible]

[illegible] Appendix II, [illegible] Esarhaddon's accession to power in Babylon. A and [illegible] Esarhaddon, [illegible] Babylonian problems might again [illegible]

[illegible] Apology, the passage reporting Esarhaddon's [illegible] 22 of Nineveh A. Nineveh D includes [illegible] passage in which Esarhaddon [illegible] Nineveh, [illegible] with the gods and early [illegible] Nineveh [illegible] of Nineveh A. Both passages are [illegible] the account of the rise to power in the Nineveh A text. Fig. 2, which is [illegible] long, and another discusses Esarhaddon's fall from favor and subsequent difficulties.

vided by a second element in the Nineveh A text, in this case a significant omission. The passage in question is again the long historical introduction (Esp. 2) describing Esarhaddon's selection as heir and his rise to power. As we saw earlier in the discussion of Esarhaddon's rise to power, this historical introduction begins with an account of Esarhaddon's selection as heir apparent, his brothers' critical attacks on him, and his eventual decision to withdraw to exile outside Assyria. The next section, which follows immediately, briefly describes the fighting which, it says, broke out in Nineveh among Esarhaddon's brothers after his departure. The passage is as important for what it fails to mention as for its actual description of events:

> After this, my brothers conspired and did what was not good in the sight of the gods and commanded. They planted evil and hostile words in the midst of Nineveh, contrary to the will of the gods. Like goats they butted against each other—as the [illegible] of the lambs. (Nin. A, Esp. 2, ll. 11–16)

The section concludes, as we saw earlier, with an account of how Esarhaddon learned that his brothers were fighting among themselves, returned to Assyria with an army, defeated the warring factions, and took the throne. What is missing from the entire account is any mention that his brothers were fighting together about who would be king because the reigning king, their father, had just been killed—murdered, in fact, by one of his sons. We know this from the Babylonian chronicles, from the Bible, and even from later Assyrian texts, but not from Nineveh A. Why was all reference to Sennacherib's death—such a crucial part of the story—omitted?

The first explanation is that Esarhaddon himself was the son who had arranged the murder, and that the reference to his father's death was omitted out of guilt. As noted earlier, however, Simo Parpola has argued that the letter ABL 1091, when correctly translated, provides some strong evidence that it was not Esarhaddon but his brother Arda-Mulišši, who had arranged the assassination of Sennacherib.[28] Since there is no evidence that Esarhaddon was involved in the murder in any way, we must find another explanation for the Nineveh A text's silence about it.

A second possibility is that the subject of assassinating Assyrian kings might itself have been considered inappropriate in Assyrian royal inscriptions. But Esarhaddon's son Assurbanipal later mentions the murder of Sennacherib without any apparent reservation, in the text in which he describes himself as killing Bel's oxen in the temple where they had killed Sennacherib—an indication that the subject of the murder of Assyrian kings was not forbidden per se.

The most plausible explanation is that Esarhaddon did not mention the

[28] Simo Parpola, "The Murder of Sennacherib," in *Death in Mesopotamia*, 171–182.

[29] Reading [illegible] Nineveh [illegible] 30.

murder of his father because of an understandable reluctance to raise the subject of the successful murder of a recent king, a topic that might set people's minds going in an undesirable direction. The story of the Biblical King David offers a possible analogy. According to the account in II Samuel 1:1–16, shortly after David's predecessor and enemy, King Saul, died in battle, a man came to David proudly asserting that he himself had killed Saul during the fighting. David reacted, according to this account, by tearing his clothes in mourning, exclaiming, "How want thou not afraid to stretch forth thine hand to destroy the Lord's anointed?" and commanding that the man be put to death. Although Saul had been his deadly enemy, David's first reaction was to reject outright the idea that it was acceptable to kill an anointed king, however helpful that death might prove to David himself. Esarhaddon may have been motivated by similar considerations. Later, after Esarhaddon's death and the peaceful installation of his successors, the subject of Sennacherib's murder was less charged, so that Assurbanipal could cite it freely, particularly in the context of announcing that he had now avenged that murder. Esarhaddon, however, evidently felt constrained to omit any reference to his father's murder in the Nineveh A inscription, an omission that makes good sense politically if we understand that the text was expected to reach not only gods and future kings, but also an audience of his own contemporaries.

These two aspects of the Nineveh A inscription—its inclusion of the first letter of an account of Esarhaddon's early difficulties and its omission of any reference to Sennacherib's murder—suggest that this text, and probably other foundation documents as well, were intended for at least two presentations: to a living audience of the king's contemporaries, and second, for burial in the walls or floors of the building whose construction the text described, so that the texts would be preserved for an audience of gods and future kings.

But how could the texts of such building inscriptions have reached the contemporary audiences for which they seem to have been at least in part designed, if such inscriptions were ordinarily interred in the foundations of buildings? In the first place, the inscribed bricks or the texts after they had been placed in foundation boxes would not in any way have precluded their reading by a variety of contemporary audiences before their burial. One contemporary audience that building inscriptions certainly reached, for example, was that of the scribes who composed the texts, and their associates at court. These scribes drafted the formal documents presenting royal public policy and no doubt discussed their work with their colleagues in the palace. As they did so, the king's messages about himself, his ancestors, and his achievements reached these scribes and a wider contemporary audience in the king's court.[illegible] In reaching these members of the Assyrian ruling elite and retinue-

[illegible]

ing their conviction of the king's power and right to rule, the messages presented in the royal inscriptions filled an important first function by contributing to the self-confidence and effectiveness of the Assyrian administration.[illegible]

Later, after the composition of the texts, at least one group of building inscriptions of Esarhaddon was made available to a second selected audience of contemporaries. The discovery in the city of Aššur of several copies of Esarhaddon building inscriptions describing construction projects that took

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[illegible]

[illegible] The importance of this group as an audience for royal pronouncements is discussed by Mario Liverani, "The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire," in *Power and Propaganda*, Mogens T. Larsen, ed., 298–299 and 302.

place in other cities suggests that at least in some cases, a duplicate of the building inscription, copied on a clay prism, was placed in a city other than the one where the text was interred as a foundation deposit. The second copy of the text presumably remained accessible to contemporaries even after the main copy of the text was buried. This is at first glance a somewhat surprising conclusion, since it has long been a working hypothesis among Assyriologists that texts copied on clay prisms or cylinders were intended for use only as deposits in foundation boxes in the buildings whose construction they describe; a number of clay prisms and cylinders have in fact been found in other settings, however, suggesting that the hypothesis that prisms and cylinders were invariably meant to be buried in the city and building they discuss needs to be reexamined. A. K. Grayson, in his study of the various genres of Assyrian and Babylonian royal inscriptions, comments at one point, "Copies of some inscriptions were actually kept in a special kind of archive," citing here ancient collections of texts from previous reigns found at Babylon and at Sippar.[26] Although these collections were found in Babylonia, and Grayson does not note whether they included prisms and cylinders, it begins to appear that similar collections were made in Assyria as well, and these did include texts on prisms. In Esarhaddon's case, building inscriptions copied on prisms and found at Aššur include records of construction projects in Nineveh (Nin A[27]), in Tarbiṣu (Tarb. A), and in Babylon (Bab. A),[28] as well as a combined account of constructions in both Aššur and Babylon together (AsBbL).[29] Although the latter text might have been used as a foundation text in Aššur, since it does include an account of work done there, it was discovered as part of a group of texts from various reigns in a courtyard in the temple Ešarra (in Aššur), not in a foundation box. The other Esarhaddon texts listed above as found in Aššur are all building inscriptions describing work in other cities.[30] The intended use for the texts in Aššur is unclear; that even of the three texts for which we have a precise provenance were found in the Ešarra temple or nearby (the third was almost certainly removed from its original site in antiquity) raises the possibility that the texts were deposited by Esarhaddon in the Ešarra temple, perhaps as formal records or as presentations to the god Aššur. Several Esarhaddon inscriptions have been found in other temples, as well: a copy

[26] A. Kirk Grayson, "Assyria and Babylonia," 1980.

[27] For the provenance of all Esarhaddon texts, see Appendix IV. The Nineveh A prism was found in some distance from the [illegible] of a building suggesting that it had been removed from its original location and "hoppled" in a new place.

[28] In the texts, it is stated in the prism that the inscription was copied on prisms or cylinders and was found in the city, in some cases, the exact wording is recorded exactly, in texts that [illegible] another building were [illegible] in the city in which they had been composed or copied. In the case of Esarhaddon's texts from Aššur, however, we know that some of the texts are not located exactly in one place. We have other copies of the same text from the cities in which they were used, probably as building deposits.

in Nineveh D in the Ištar temple at Nineveh and a second copy of it in the Nabû temple at Nineveh, and the vassal treaty texts recording oaths imposed on certain vassals to insure their support of Esarhaddon's chosen successors, in the Nabû temple at Calah. In addition to these, a copy of one of Sennacherib's annalistic inscriptions was found in the Nabû temple in Nineveh, as was a copy of one of Assurbanipal's building inscriptions.[20] The discovery of such texts in temples raises the possibility that several of the late Assyrian kings may have routinely deposited formal duplicate copies of their building inscriptions, along with other royal texts, in temples, as well as placing such building inscriptions in foundation deposits. Because the Esarhaddon building inscriptions found at Aššur were not buried as foundation deposits, these texts clearly remained accessible to contemporaries in Aššur, at least to those who had access to the large collections of texts housed in the Aššur temple. Such scribes and temple personnel represent a probable second contemporary audience for those building inscriptions.

Access to the inscriptions in these first two instances was limited to people who were permitted entry to palaces or temples in Assyria, and who were able to read or had scribes available to them. There were obvious advantages to the Assyrians, however, in having the texts of building inscriptions also reach a wider and more general contemporary audience in Assyria and Babylonia as well.

Although the presentation of building inscription texts to this wider audience remains conjectural, it is clear that mechanisms for presenting the texts to a wider audience were readily available. The texts could easily have been presented to contemporary audiences, for example, in the form of speeches or proclamations read aloud at public gatherings. The ceremonies during which building inscriptions were deposited in the foundations of buildings are an example of one setting in which building inscriptions might appropriately have been read aloud to a large and varied contemporary audience. The performances of rituals at various stages in the construction of public buildings in Mesopotamia are well attested. The participation of the king in many of these rituals is equally well attested, with examples ranging from the time of Gudea in the third millennium to Esarhaddon's reign and long after him.[21] These rituals were, not performed by the king in person, but in the accounts of building operations, called "royal inscriptions," these ceremonies have all the earmarks of royal rituals. Texts Esarhaddon's scribes make this explicit, he [illegible] the temple Uruk

[illegible]

"In order to cause the lands to fear, I showed the people" (Assur A, iv, ll. 39–40). Building ceremonies, then, were specifically public gatherings, occasions for "showing the people."

Almost certainly, they were also occasions for "telling the people." We would expect foundation ceremonies to have had an accompanying script, a speech or public announcement in which the king or his representative described the construction project that was being inaugurated and presented—with the king as its sponsor. When we read Assyrian building inscriptions, it is hard to imagine texts better suited for such a purpose. Like the speeches made at modern ground-breaking ceremonies, Assyrian building inscriptions typically consist of pious references to divine help, glowing descriptions of the project at hand and of the king's role in making it possible, and a concluding wish that the gods might smile upon the project, upon the people who were to use it, and upon the sponsor who was having it built. Such inscriptions would have served admirably as speeches for the foundation ceremonies inaugurating building projects, a setting in which such inscriptions would have been effective vehicles for delivering the king's messages to his people in verbal form before the burial of the documents for audiences in the future.

The Assyrian versions of the building inscriptions describing projects in Babylon are a special case and suggest that at least in some instances, royal inscriptions were presented at other sorts of public gatherings as well, such as the city-wide assembly in Assur that A. Leo Oppenheim posits as the setting for the presentation of Sargon II's eighth campaign report. The text explicitly addresses the people of the city of Assur, and Oppenheim has argued that it represents the text of a speech made by the king to the citizens and gods of that city to report to them the results of the king's most recent campaign.[20] Esarhaddon's Babylon A and C texts, found at Nineveh and Assyrian in tone, may well have been publicly presented in similar fashion at such gatherings.

That Esarhaddon's building inscriptions reached contemporary audiences by being read aloud or presented as speeches at public gatherings seems likely in a society, such as that of Assyria and Babylonia, in which most people were unable to read. Mario Liverani, in an essay discussing Assyrian ideology and the mechanisms by which it was communicated, argues that reading aloud was a common method of presenting texts to the Mesopotamian public. "In addition . . .," he says, "that the written message was complemented by other types of messages, in particular the visual one . . . and the oral one. The same written texts were to be orally divulged in ceremonial situations . . ."[21]

[20] A. Leo Oppenheim, "Inscriptions of Sargon II, Part I," [illegible]. Except for the mention of the "[illegible] of the [illegible] of [illegible] of the gods," there actually is no clear [illegible] to the present audience.

[21] Mario Liverani, "The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire," in *State and Propaganda*, 301.

The idea that written texts were also presented orally is supported by numerous references indicating that reading documents aloud was a common mechanism for communicating information to the public throughout the ancient Near East over a long period of time. A second millennium Hittite treaty between the ruler Muwatalli and Alakandu of Wilusa is one example of reading aloud as a means of calling to mind information contained in an important public document; its instructions to the treaty signer include the stipulation, "Moreover, let someone read thee this tablet which I have made for thee thirty times every year."[26] A passage from the Biblical book of Esther suggests that reading public documents aloud was also the practice later in the Near East, under the Persian empire.[27] It reports that, "A copy of the document [ordering the extermination of the Jews] was to be issued as a decree in every province by proclamation to all peoples to be ready for that day" (Esther 3:14); it also reports that the practice of issuing public orders by oral proclamation, which this passage explicitly mentions, was assumed without comment in many other texts.

In both Israel and Mesopotamia, there are records of so-called "years of release" in which the king, by custom, granted the citizens of his nation exemptions, or release (in Akkadian, *mīšarum*), from certain obligations. In an article discussing such exemptions, Moshe Weinfeld argues that in both Israel and Mesopotamia such years of release were announced by the ruler through public proclamations,[28] citing in support, among other documents, the preamble to the edict of King Ammisaduqa of Babylon (dates 1646), which identifies that text as "the tablet [understood to] bear at the time the king established the [*mīšarum*] for the land."[29] Weinfeld notes in addition that the release of prisoners at Nuzi, performed by the king in a festival month in the god's city, was called a *šubārum*, or "public proclamation" (p. 4[illegible]).

Literary texts, as well, often mention reading aloud; the beginning of one Mesopotamian epic, for example, calls on an audience to listen: "A song of Hešeg-ili will I sing, ob[illegible] pay attention! oh warrior, listen!"[30] In similar fashion, a short hymn glorifying the early Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I closes with the instruction, "Let the present [generation] hear [this hymn] and

[illegible] pp. 19, 31, [illegible] Cited in Kenneth L. McCarthy, S.J., "Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament," 3

[26] The date of composition of the Book of Esther is debated; it has been argued to be either in the late Persian period (5th–4th centuries B.C.) or alternatively, in the Maccabean period (mid-2nd century B.C.). The period in which the story is set is the reign of Xerxes I (485–465 B.C.), and it contains many elements drawn from the period and reflects social and legal practices that reflect Persian influence. For a discussion, see Bernhard W. Anderson, *Understanding the Old Testament*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1986), 607–609.

[27] Moshe Weinfeld, "Justice and Righteousness in Mesopotamia and the Nathan Oracle," 490.

[28] [illegible] Cited in Claus Wilcke, "Die Anfänge der akkadischen Epen," [illegible] 154–55

recite it to the later."[70] The extent to which such literary conventions reflect actual practice is not clear, the significant thing for our purposes is that these texts, too, contain references to reading aloud or reciting as common practice. The Enūma eliš myth is an interesting case in this regard. Not only do its concluding passages similarly exhort the father to "recite and impart to his son" the words of the epic, and urge that the "ears of shepherd and herdsman be opened" to it,[71] but also the instructions for carrying out the ritual of the annual akītu festival at Babylon indicate that the exhortation to recite and to hear was, in this case at least, taken literally and the Enūma eliš read aloud once a year during the festival.[72] The expectation that important texts would be read aloud appears from these examples to have been a commonplace throughout the ancient Near East, including Mesopotamia. It seems likely that building inscriptions, like many other types of texts, were presented orally to contemporary audiences.

We have at this point identified several mechanisms by which the texts of Esarhaddon's building inscriptions might have reached contemporary audiences in Assyria and Babylonia, despite their eventual burial in foundation documents. As we have seen, it is clear that they would have reached a contemporary audience of scribes and people at the royal court in the period when the texts were being composed, many of them probably reached an additional audience of temple officials and scribes in Aššur, as well, where copies of several Esarhaddon building inscriptions were deposited in the Ištar temple and remained unburied. In addition, it seems likely that building inscriptions were also presented orally to a more general audience in the form of speeches or proclamations at public gatherings. The eventual burial of copies of building inscriptions in foundation deposits for future audiences would not in any way have prevented such texts from also reaching contemporary audiences.

That building inscriptions were written in Akkadian, rather than in Aramaic, which was increasingly becoming the vernacular of Mesopotamia, permits a more precise identification of their intended audience. Brinkman, discussing the use of Aramaic by Chaldeans, concludes that by "later Neo-Babylonian and Persian times . . . all the inhabitants of Babylonia used Aramaic as the vernacular"[73]—a change apparently already well under way in

[70] Cited by Jacob J. Finkelstein, *Propaganda and Communication in World History*, ed. H. D. Lasswell, et al., 72.

[71] The translation is that of E. A. Speiser in "Akkadian Myths and Epics," in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 2nd ed., James B. Pritchard, ed., 72.

[72] "Temple Program for the New Year's Festival at Babylon," A. Sachs, translation, instructions for the fourth day, ll. 284–286, in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, James B. Pritchard, ed., 2nd ed., 332. The text is from the Seleucid period, but the practice it reflects may well be much older.

[73] J. A. Brinkman, *Post-Kassite Babylonia*, 267, n. 1726.

Babylonia by Esarhaddon's time. In an article on the use of Aramaic in Babylonia, Jonas Greenfield concurs, but suggests that Akkadian was probably still at least comprehensible to certain groups in Babylonia in Esarhaddon's period:

> by the later seventh century the country [Babylonia] was largely aramaicized—that is, Aramaic was widespread in the vernacular, without forgetting for a moment the survival power of languages long after scholars have pronounced them dead. On the whole, the assertion that Babylonian was limited to the learned and priestly classes, a kind of clerks' Latin which continued to be used for another six hundred years and maintained its influence and position in certain areas, is correct.[11]

Ladislav argues that in Assyria also the use of Aramaic was widespread by Esarhaddon's time.[12] Since Esarhaddon's building inscriptions are written in Akkadian, not Aramaic, it seems likely that they were directed primarily at an audience of the elite, who could still either read Akkadian themselves or had scribes readily available to interpret for them.

This is a conclusion that makes sense politically. People such as scribes, temple officials, powerful merchants, and administrators, the people in Assyria who were either literate themselves or regularly employed scribes, were also the most politically influential people in the kingdom. Their support was essential for controlling Babylonia, for administering the empire effectively, and for preventing counter-revolution in Assyria. Greenfield's point about the tenacious survival of languages adds an important qualification to this conclusion, however, because it suggests that to some extent the message of the building inscriptions would also have been comprehensible to the populace as a whole, rather in the way that the archaic English of the King James Bible is still relatively comprehensible to modern audiences because they are accustomed to hearing it on ceremonial occasions. The nuances of the texts, however, would certainly have been more evident to the more limited group still conversant in Akkadian. It was these members of the literate elite in both states for whom the inscriptions were primarily intended.

We have been tracing in these pages the development of a large-scale, surprisingly modern public relations campaign that began in the last years of Esarhaddon's rule and focused on preventing carefully differentiated images of the king in audiences in Assyria and Babylonia, images designed to present the king in each nation as the embodiment of that nation's own royal traditions. An important early step in this program was the dramatic gesture in which the king himself appeared in the city of Babylon, and then in the city

[11] Jonas C. Greenfield, "Aramaic in Babylonia: Relationships in Morphology and Lexicon," in *Studies in Honor of Benjamin Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, 27.

[12] Hayim Tadmor, "The Aramaization of Assyria: Aspects of Western Impact," in *Mesopotamia and the Near East: Papers of the XXXI Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*.

of Aššur, symbolically beginning the restoration of the national temple by personally carrying a laborer's basket. The basket-bearing ceremony presented the king as the religious leader of each nation and at the same time linked the king to ancient Mesopotamian royal traditions.

In Babylonia, the ceremony in addition presented Esarhaddon in a role previously reserved for the kings of Babylonia alone, implying that in Esarhaddon's person and under his rule the traditions and national identity of Babylonia would be preserved and honored. At the same time, royal inscriptions presented in Babylonia further developed the image of Esarhaddon as a traditional and legitimate Babylonian ruler.

This image of the king, presented in the early texts written for the south, was hardly the message Esarhaddon wished to convey to the Assyrians, however, and Esarhaddon's early building inscriptions for Assyrian building projects present the king in a different light, as a traditional Assyrian ruler faithful to the needs of his people. Even the building inscriptions for Babylon were recast in special Assyrian versions to justify the rebuilding of Babylon to the Assyrians and to reassure them that despite his attentions to Babylon, Esarhaddon remained an unmistakably Assyrian king, properly critical of the Babylonians, but willing to be the "agent of the gods' mercy toward them" if the gods so required. Such texts represent the other side of the coin, the message Esarhaddon directed at the north in the early days of his reign.

The multifaceted public relations effort in both areas was essential to Esarhaddon's survival. In Assyria, it was a central element of the effort to stabilize his initially precarious position as a king who had come to power only by wresting the throne from his brothers. In Babylonia, it was designed to begin the slow process of diminishing the Babylonians' resistance to Assyrian rule, laying the foundations on which Esarhaddon could attempt to build a closer relationship between Babylonia and her northern conquerors.

CHAPTER SIX

Toward the Development of a Single National Image

BY THE MIDDLE YEARS OF HIS REIGN, ESARHADDON had evidently begun to achieve a considerable degree of acceptance in Babylonia as well as in Assyria. When he came to the throne in 681, the prospects of his real acceptance of Assyrian rule by the Babylonians must have seemed remote. Sennacherib's devastating attack on Babylon had occurred only eight years earlier, and the Babylonians, led by Bēl-ibni, were once again in active revolt. By some five years into Esarhaddon's reign, however, the situation had changed. Bēl-ibni, having made his peace with Assyria at the very beginning of the reign, had apparently remained relatively loyal despite considerable temptation.[1] Two attempted conspiracies against the Assyrians organized by provincial governors in Nippur in alliance with leaders of the Bīt-Dakkuri tribe in 678 and 675 had both failed to produce an uprising.[2] Instead, Babylonia in the first half of Esarhaddon's reign had remained essentially quiet under Assyrian rule, in contrast to the turbulent resistance to Assyria that had marked much of the reigns of Sargon and Sennacherib.[3] Even with the Assyrians distracted by an attempted uprising in the west in 673, in the past often a signal for revolt, the Babylonians had continued peacefully about their business.[4] The change that was occurring in the relations between Babylonia and Assyria by the middle of Esarhaddon's reign was a quiet one, but that a change was beginning seems clear.

In the early years Esarhaddon seems, despite his turbulent accession to the

[1] See above, pp. [illegible]. The inscriptions are reported as Chr. 1, no. II, ll. 1–2 and 14–15, Chr. 14, ll. 10–11 and 26, and Sin. A and B, ep. 12.

[2] Six economic documents from Babylon dating from the years 678 and 675 mention Esarhaddon's name in their dating formulae, a mark of legitimate acceptance of his reign in that city at a fairly early period. Eight texts from Dilbat, most dated between 678 and 673, and [illegible] from Uruk, most dated between 675 and 673, indicate recognition of Assyrian rule in those cities at about the same time. A total of thirty Babylonian economic texts from Esarhaddon's reign, beginning in 673, bear dating formulae, a mark of widespread political acceptance. [3] See table of the kings of Babylonia. These date formulae refer to Esarhaddon as "king of the world," "king of Assyria," "king of the universe," "king of the lands," and "king of Babylon" (as well as to his father, Sennacherib, and his grandfather, Sargon). Table [illegible], p. [illegible].

[4] The uprising led by the king of Sidon, collapsed with the fall of Sidon in 677. It is described in Sin. A, ep. 5, Chr. 1, no. II, ll. 3 and 6–7, and Chr. 14, ll. 12 and 14.

throne, to have achieved widespread acceptance as king in Assyria, as well. The documentary evidence from his reign shows no sign of problems in Assyria in the king's early years. Perhaps the momentum of Esarhaddon's rather spectacular success in defeating his brothers and winning the allegiance of their soldiers at Hanigalbat had captured the imagination of the Assyrians and made the majority of them willing, at least initially, to support the promising new king. His summary punishment of the few of his brothers' supporters who had not fled the country would have further discouraged any other response.[29] Esarhaddon's position in Assyria in the first few years had been further strengthened by early successes in military affairs: he defeated groups of Cimmerians and Manneans, invaded the exotic distant land of Hizu, and conducted a very successful campaign in the west to defeat the Phoenician-led uprising.[30] In addition, the king's assiduous attentions to building projects in Assyria, supported by the image of the king presented in his royal inscriptions for Assyria, may also have contributed to what appears to have been a broad acceptance of his rule in Assyria in the early years of the reign.

The growing acceptance of his rule in both states made it feasible for the king and his advisers to begin to introduce further modifications in Esarhaddon's still-controversial Babylonian policy as time passed, subtly encouraging both groups to accept the concept of greater unity between them. The mechanisms chosen for encouraging this change in attitude were of two kinds: first, a gradual change in the language of the royal inscriptions so that they began increasingly to address the two groups in almost identical terms, as if to imply that Assyrians and Babylonians constituted in essence a single audience, united by common interests; and second, an effort to focus attention on the figure of the Babylonian god Marduk, already worshipped to some extent in Assyria, and to propose to the Assyrians a subtly changed image of the god that would permit him to become a major focus of worship in both states and an emblem of their divinely-approved unity. These two developments mark the final stages in Esarhaddon's program to draw Assyria and Babylonia into a lasting peaceful union under Assyrian rule. Since the changes introduced in the language of Esarhaddon's royal inscriptions for the two states were the first of these developments to appear, we will begin our examination of the later stages of Esarhaddon's public relations program with an analysis of these, reserving later to examine the enhanced role of Marduk as the final step in Esarhaddon's efforts to develop support for his policy of reconciliation and unification.

One factor that may have influenced the decision to introduce this new theme in the second half of the reign was the growing pressure to name an

[29] See A. Ep. 2, [illegible]

[30] [illegible] of the Mann[illegible] in Nineveh [illegible] place in [illegible] [illegible] in both [illegible]

heir for Esarhaddon, who suffered from an increasingly troublesome chronic illness,[21] and the somewhat surprising choice of not one, but two sons as his future heirs, one to rule as king of Assyria, the other to rule in a subordinate role as king of Babylonia. This proposed arrangement for the succession, whose significance for Esarhaddon's policies we will later consider at greater length, meant that after Esarhaddon's death the figure of the Assyrian king would become a much less effective emblem of the union of the two states, since the role of king of Babylonia would be filled by a separate individual. These arrangements for the succession, announced in public ceremonies in both states in 672, required a change in the emphasis of Esarhaddon's public relations program, from its initial focus on the figure of the king himself to a greater emphasis instead on the unity of the Assyrian and Babylonian people.

This new emphasis first begins to be apparent in inscriptions composed in the middle years of Esarhaddon's reign. Its characteristics are most easily recognizable, however, in its final, fully developed form, in a series of inscriptions written almost at the end of the reign that address the Assyrians and Babylonians as a single audience, describing projects in both nations overshadowedly and in alternation, or even together in a single passage. In the interests of clarity, we will begin our analysis of the changing emphasis in the theme of Esarhaddon's inscriptions with these later texts and will then look back to trace the gradual development of this theme in earlier texts.

As an example of a late inscription that emphasizes the unity of Assyrians and Babylonians, we start with the AsBbA inscription, one of the longest and best preserved of the texts Borger labels the "Assur/Babylon" group, so called because they take the unusual tack of dealing with projects in both cities in a single inscription.[22] The description of Esarhaddon in the introduction of the AsBbA inscription (king of the kings of Ethiopia (cols. II 28–29) places the composition of the text almost at the end of Esarhaddon's reign, after the successful Egyptian campaign of 671. There is no indication of the occasion for which AsBbA was written, but a subscript appended to it describes it as the "first excerpt" from a text that was inscribed "on the left side"[23] an indication that the text was intended for use on a monument and thus represents a formal, public document. Although both copies of the text were probably found in Nineveh[24] (which might suggest an Assyrian audience) there is sug-

[21] See Parpola's extensive commentary on the nature and course of the illness, in Parpola, Correspondence of Esarhaddon, pp. 231–236.

[22] See Borger, Inschriften Asarhaddons, No. 74. Although we include the text AsBbA in this group, I will focus it on a later version of it because almost all of Borger's AsBb group do not warrant reconstruction work on Egypt and Ethiopia, or the return of the gods, but rather with the emphasis shifted to the cities of Sumer and Akkad, or the return of the gods, but rather with the emphasis shifted to the cities of Sumer and Akkad, in the cases of Marduk and Sarpanitum, a possibility suggested but overstressed by Oppenheim, see below, n. 40.

[23] Text: [illegible] AsBbA, Unterschrift, following line 1.

[24] For the provenance of these texts, see Appendix IV.

ambiguity; little or no indication in the tone or topics of the text of whether an Assyrian or Babylonian audience was intended; the AdBbA inscription addresses Assyrians and Babylonians throughout as one people, reflecting the interests of both.

This unifying approach makes itself felt from the outset, as the text begins with a list of gods who, it says, chose Esarhaddon for kingship (obv., ll. 1–21); the Babylonian gods Nabû and Marduk are included without comment among the more traditional gods of Assyria. While both Marduk and Nabû were by this time widely worshipped in Assyria, a point we will consider further below, both gods retained their strong Babylonian associations, with their main cult centers still located in cities in the Babylonian south. The brief list of royal titles that follows the god list (ll. 22–[illegible]) acknowledges Esarhaddon as king of both Assyria and Babylonia and is followed by references first to the goddess Ištar-šuqamuna-ittu-ša-Nabû and a prominent figure in the Babylonian pantheon, and then to Ištar of Nineveh and Ištar of Arbela, important Assyrian goddesses.

The balance of northern and southern elements continues in the royal epithets Esarhaddon is addressed, for example, as the king who "fears the word of Aššur, Nabû, (and) Marduk" (l. [illegible]), and further on, the text asserts Esarhaddon's ties to the ancient origins of kingship in a phrase that again evokes the traditions of both states in a single line, calling him *zēra dārā pu'ū Bāliṭ*, that is, "lasting seed of kingship, scion of Bāliṭ" (l. 35). The phrase "lasting seed of kingship" is a Babylonian royal epithet originating in the titles of the ancient Sumerian kings[illegible] while the phrase "scion of Bāliṭ" links Esarhaddon to one of the most revered of Assyrian holy places, Bāliṭ, the precincts of the god Aššur in the city of Aššur. The epithets continue the interweaving of Assyrian and Babylonian elements, first referring to Esarhaddon as "precious one, beloved of Ištar" (l. [illegible]), the temple of Aššur in Assyria, and then immediately calling him, "he of the pure hands, ripp priest, who cleaned the statues of the great gods of Babylon" (ll. [illegible]). In the same vein, the epithets characterize him first as "builder of the temple of Aššur" and then, in the same passage, as "the maker of Esagila and Babylon

[illegible]

[illegible]

who returned the plundered gods of the lands to their places" (l. 36b–37). Esarhaddon is also called "the one who makes fast the exemptions of Bēl" (in Aššur) and then "the establisher of the freedoms of Nippur, Babylon, Borsippa and Sippar" (l. 40), all cities of Babylonia. He is called the king who reassembles the scattered Babylonians (l. 43), and also the king whom the god Aššur makes victor over the enemies of the land of Aššur (l. 44). Woven throughout the epithets is a consistent balance of elements designed to appeal alternately to Assyrians and Babylonians. The final passage of the introduction (ll. 47–51) epitomizes the entire section by characterizing Esarhaddon first as the descendant of a long line of Assyrian kings, and then remarking that it is the Babylonian god Marduk who has called him to rule. The figure of the king is central to the AsBbA text, as it was central to Esarhaddon's earlier inscriptions, but here the king himself is an emblem of unity; the introduction presents the king not as the ruler of one or the other state, but as a ruler who combines Assyrian and Babylonian kingship in his own person.

In the body of the narrative, the balance of Assyrian and Babylonian elements continues. The subject of the AsBbA text is the repair and adornment of the statues of various gods, principally Babylonian gods, carried off after Sennacherib's attack on Babylon, a potentially divisive point which the text passes over in silence.[64] As the account begins (obv., ll. 52–8), Esarhaddon takes the throne, and "with the wisdom (given him) by Aššur and Marduk" (ibid., l. 12) conceives the idea of renewing the statues of the great gods.

The text continues by indicating that the making of statues of gods, even at the command of the gods themselves, was considered an audacious undertaking for men (ibid., ll. 14–17); an appropriate site for the work was therefore to be chosen by the gods themselves, who were to indicate their choice through liver omens. The choices offered the gods included two northern sites, the city of Nineveh and the Bēl̄ī section of the city of Aššur, and one southern site, Babylon (ibid., ll. 20–21). Although Esarhaddon was leading the divination somewhat in favor of Assyrian sites, for reasons which will later become clear, it is important that Babylon was offered as a choice. Assyria and Babylonia were both represented. We are told that the gods' choice fell, not surprisingly, on Babylon (ibid., ll. 22–24). The text goes on to describe the ceremonies by which the statues were made, and the rituals by which they were installed in their new temples (ibid., ll. 25–40). The ceremonies were performed in Babylon, and the statues were made of precious materials, including gold, silver, and various precious stones. Esarhaddon's own role in the ceremonies was that of the king who had made the statues (ibid., ll. 41–45). For further discussion, see H. Lenzinger, [illegible] (Wiesbaden, 1974). Whatever the statues were being made from, scribes or craftsmen from the territories of the regional states, the theological and political significance of Esarhaddon's actions remains the same.

[64] There is some ambiguity about which Marduk statue, and how it was found, in contrast to the case of Sennacherib's expedition to recover the statues. Borger, Inschriften, OIP 2, p. 84, l. 45: "[illegible] Babylon [illegible] people, [illegible] and also stand [illegible] the inscription, OIP 2, p. 85, [illegible] Marduk, but should the gods return [illegible] Esarhaddon's inscription [illegible] Marduk, which [illegible] Aššur [illegible] Marduk [illegible] and was in Aššur in Esarhaddon's reign. Esarhaddon's inscription [illegible] the statues. For further discussion, see H. Lenzinger, [illegible] (Wiesbaden, 1974). In any event, whether the statues were being made from scratch or reconstructed from the remains of the original statues, the theological and political significance of Esarhaddon's actions remains the same.

pestangly, on the temple workshops in Aššur, where work began as soon as workmen and precious goods could be assembled.

In describing the work itself, the text continues the balance of Assyrian and Babylonian elements. Since most of the statues being restored were Babylonian, the scribe maintains the even-handedness of his account by inserting an unexpected excursus describing the making of a crown for the god Aššur:

> A crown made of gold, [illegible] of the god Aššur, king of the gods, my lord, I made, of red gold, [illegible] and I adorned it to perfection. I placed it upon [illegible] with lapis lazuli, [illegible] possessed of glittering splendor, [illegible] with lapis lazuli [illegible] from the great lord, his head was covered, [illegible] possessed [illegible] ll. 329–340

With this excursion to Assyrian interests completed, the scribe at last describes the reconstruction of the statues, the event for which the twenty-three previous lines of text serve as an elaborate introduction. The adornment of the statues of the gods Bel and Bêltiya, alternate names for Marduk and Zarpanitu, Bêlet Bâbili, Enlil, and Madanu is described in detail: "[illegible] with red gold, the product of Arabia, dust of its mountains, I made their forms lofty. With lofty ornament and precious jewels I adorned their [illegible] (cf. Seb. 17a), and so forth. The rhetorical language of the passage recalls the passage describing the making of Aššur's crown and provides a balance to it.

The passage describing the actual construction of the statues reveals a new aspect of the project: "The gods Bel, Bêltiya, Bêlet Bâbili, Enlil, and Madanu, great gods, were truly born in the midst of Esarra, the house of their father, and their form was exactly [illegible] ll. 35–36). The significant point is that Esarra, the temple of Aššur, is here characterized as the "house of their father," and the reconstruction of the statues is represented as a kind of birth, a traditional image in descriptions of the construction of statues. But in this case the metaphor was extended "to bring forth" in Esarra, the text asserts, the gods of Babylon would become, in some sense, Aššur's children. The political and theological implications of such a statement were considerable; the text was in effect proposing the adoption of major Babylonian gods, including Bel-Marduk himself, into the Assyrian pantheon. This idea had been foreshadowed in the text's introduction, where Aššur was called "father of the gods" (ab ilāni, obv. I. 1), and Marduk "first born" (apla-rēši, obv. I. 30), an epithet usually accorded the eldest son and heir of a household. By extension, the text implies that the Assyrians and Babylonians were also being drawn into a new and closer relationship, through the now closer genealogical relationship of the patron gods who symbolized the two nations, and through their shared veneration of Marduk, who was now to be officially one of the most important figures in the pantheons of both nations. Implicit in the formulation, however, was not only the effect of an enhanced position in Assyrian eyes

for Marduk (and by implication, for the Babylonians he represented), but also a clear statement of the limits of the enhanced status they were being offered. Marduk and his divine colleagues were being assigned permanent positions of great honor in the Assyrian pantheon as children of Assur, but within that pantheon Assur was to remain the father, while Marduk would take on a subordinate role as his son. A clear statement of the hierarchical relationship between Assyria and Babylonia envisioned in Esarhaddon's Babylonian policies, a relationship with Babylonia uniquely honored within the empire, but with Assyria firmly occupying the dominant position.

Since the central phrase identifying Esarra as the "house of their father" appears only in this version of the statues reconstruction and is missing in the only other surviving account of the reconstruction, the Addu text, discussed below, it seems possible that the A-B-A text was intended to present the story of the rebuilding and the images it contained to Assyrian and Babylonian people that permeated the text as a whole, not an Assyrian audience. The Addu text, which omits the phrase, would even more appropriate for a Babylonian audience, who would probably less found the proposed rearrangement of their chief gods' spheres of influence offensive. This remains conjectural, however, since there is no Babylonian version of its intended geographical setting and since the overt trade role of the texts offers no internal clue to their intended audience.

After describing the reconstruction of the statues, the Addu A text reports that a throne and footstool for Nabu's consort were also constructed, and that in addition statues of several minor gods were required. (B 9–14.) These appurtenances included not only Il-Asumeri from Esagila of Babylon, but also Alusiu and Abengigi from a temple in Nineveh, once again balancing. The text underlines the rhetorical balance by commenting that Esarhaddon restored these statues "and whatever gods and goddesses Assur and Marduk commanded" (B 14). Also, it reiterates the idea that his activities were being conducted at the command of the gods of both nations.

The rhetorical balance is made even clearer as the text goes on to describe preparations for the work of restoring the temples Ehursaggalkisurra (an alternate name for Esarra) and Esagila. The events described in this passage and even the phrases used are already familiar to us from earlier inscriptions that described these same preparations for rebuilding Esarra and Esagila as separate texts. What is different here is that the Addu A inscription is now returning to those events in order to describe them as if they had been part of a single, unified project.

[illegible]

> In a favorable month, on a propitious day, the foundations of Ekhursaggalkurkurra, bond-star, heaven and earth, dwelling of Aššur, king of the gods, my lord, and those of Esagila, palace of the gods, dwelling of the great lord Marduk, lord Babylon, city which is dear to his godhead, upon gold, silver, abundant herbs, stones, fine oil, kasû-wine and šurmênu-beer . . . together I laid their foundations in [illegible].

Since the earliest building inscription for the Aššur temple is dated almost a full year after the earliest Esagila inscription, and since the two cities were located some 200 miles apart, the idea that the two projects began at the same time and that their foundations were laid "together" requires a strenuous act of the imagination. This passage is the climax of the text and suggests a strong desire on the part of the scribe to connect the projects in the minds of his readers, however separate the projects may have been in actuality.[26]

The concluding passage that follows, now partly broken, shifts attention briefly to Marduk ("Marduk, the great lord, moved the making of the sanctuaries of his lofty godhead in all its aspects, and in order to show the people the mightiness of his acts and to teach [them] the glory of his godhead, I made [illegible] a raging dragon . . . [illegible] it, and then ends with a now-fragmentary passage that once again balances Assyrian and Babylonian concerns: "Marduk, great lord . . . Aššur, my lord . . . his head" (ll. 55–56). Although its account of the rebuilding of Marduk's statue includes a subtle reminder of Assyria's dominant role in the relationship, the text consistently invokes both Assyrian and Babylonian gods, implying that they are part of the same pantheon, and through both subject matter and presentation suggests that Assyrians and Babylonians can be addressed together as a single audience.

By taking it as a given that Assyrians and Babylonians share an interest in each others' temples and gods and can be addressed as a single audience, the AsBbA text implies that the two are in essence one people, united not only by a common ruler but also by a common outlook and interests, an assertion that had considerable basis in fact. The two nations spoke the same language, with only slightly different dialects, and to a great extent shared a common cultural and technological tradition as well. Modern political theorists emphasize the importance of such shared elements in culture and outlook in forging a sense of common nationality.[27] By projecting an image of Assyrians and Babylonians as one people, the AsBbA text reinforces in its audience a sense of community and encourages them to think of them-

[26] The earliest dated Esagila inscription, Assur A1, is dated to Šamaš-Mudammiq's eighth year, Assur A2, to his tenth (Brinkman, "Babylonia," 1:[illegible]). The latter, probably in the same year, since the inscriptions are identical and [illegible] years [illegible] added. The new Esagila inscription, Babylon G, is dated to Assur April–May, [illegible] about a year earlier than Assur A2.

[27] See, for example, the comments of Karl Deutsch, "Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality," 1–11

selves, and therefore to act as distinct but interdependent parts of a single nation.

The presentation of a common national image to Assyrians and Babylonians in the AsBbA text was not an isolated occurrence; it is characteristic of several other inscriptions as well, most of which can be dated to the late years of Esarhaddon's reign. The majority of the texts in Borger's "Assur/Babylon" group, for instance, seem to be characterized by this unified approach. Although several of them (AsBbB, AsBbC, AsBbD, and AsBbF) are fragmentary, making an analysis of their overall tone difficult,[illegible] the AsBbE inscription has fortunately survived nearly intact, permitting us to examine in detail a second major inscription that consistently interweaves Assyrian and Babylonian elements in a single text.

Like AsBbA, the AsBbE inscription can be dated to 671 or later by its reference to Esarhaddon's successful Egyptian campaign of that year, and like AsBbA, it deals mainly with the reconstruction of the temples Esarra and Esagila, showing no trace of bias in favor of either Assyria or Babylonia in its account. The text consists of an introduction followed by two balanced main sections, the first describing Esarhaddon's restoration of Esarra in Assyria, and the second describing Esarhaddon's restoration of Esagila in Babylon along with the restoration and return of its gods' statues. Here again, the two temple restoration projects are described as occurring at the same time, as if to emphasize the king's evenhandedness in dealing with the two nations. Even in descriptions of the two nations' gods, the AsBbE text maintains a neutral position, calling Aššur simply "Aššur, my lord," and Marduk and his consort, "the gods who love one another,"[illegible] epithets that avoid referring to either god as head of a national pantheon. The concluding passage describing the return of Babylon's gods, restored in Assyria and returned in honor to Babylonia, is used to lend theological support to the dominant theme of the AsBbE text, that under Esarhaddon's control, the temples and gods of both Assyria and Babylonia would be cared for and respected as if the religious welfare of both nations were of equal importance. Like AsBbA, the AsBbE inscription treats Assyrians and Babylonians as if they were one people, balancing the interests of both in an integrated account that is free of national bias—a striking departure from the pattern of separate and distinctive inscriptions composed for Babylonia and Assyria that characterized the beginning years of the reign.

Both the evidence of their colophons and the locations in which the

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[illegible] AsBbG, as mentioned in n. [illegible] above, and AsBbH are also included by Borger among his "Assur-Babylon" texts, but I have not discussed them here because they [illegible] deal exclusively with Babylon and [illegible] whether they were originally part of texts that dealt with Aššur as well. Although I have excluded them, their inclusion would not in any case alter my argument.

[illegible] Borger, *Asarhaddon*, [illegible]

various "Assur/Babylon" texts were discovered suggest that these texts do not represent a single set of inscriptions designed for some specific occasion, but are instead texts composed for use in a variety of different situations and probably in different locations, as well. AsBbA, for example, was found in Nineveh and, as we have seen, carries a subscript that identifies it as a text that was inscribed on a stele. AsBbE, found among a group of texts in the Esarra temple at Assur, is inscribed on an alabaster tablet, suggesting it was intended for use as a foundation deposit or as a formal record, while AsBbF, found at Nineveh, is identified in its colophon as a copy of the inscription on a pedestal supporting a statue of the god Bêl.[22]

Clearly the texts were intended for use in different settings. Whether they were intended for different audiences, as well, is more difficult to establish but seems to me probable, as I have already suggested in the case of the two longest texts, AsBbA and AsBbE. In addition, the AsBbE text, since it was intended to accompany a statue of Marduk, was very probably meant for display in Marduk's main temple (Esagila, in Babylon), as other possible site, Marduk's temple in Nineveh, seems to have been a much less important religious center, rarely mentioned even in Assyrian texts. AsBbE, then, seems to have been meant for a Babylonian audience.

The locations in which the texts were discovered are in this case not particularly helpful in indicating most possible intended audience. While all of the "Assur-Babylon" texts were probably found in Assyria, one in Assur and the rest probably in Nineveh, this is not necessarily an indication that they were meant for use there, since all but one of the texts are copied on clay tablets, suggesting that most of them represent archival records of texts, rather than the actual main copies of the documents, which could have been used anywhere. The one exception is the AsBbE inscription, which is inscribed on an alabaster tablet and thus is probably the formal document itself; it seems likely that this text, which omits the assertion that Marduk had now become Assur's son, was intended for Babylon, rather than for Assur, where it was found.

In addition to the "Assur/Babylon" texts, another late inscription,[23] which Borger calls the "Sammeltext," shows the same careful mix of Assyrian and Babylonian elements evident in the texts discussed above. The "Sammeltext" is almost unique among Assyrian royal inscriptions because it does not focus on a single building project, or even on two projects, like the AsBb inscriptions, but instead presents a panorama of royal temple-building projects and donations in cities throughout Assyria and Babylonia, moving back and

[22] [illegible] text is AsBbE; see n. 1, 130. For the provenance of all these texts, see Appendix IV.

[23] Scott should be dated to 681 or later because of its reference to "boats from Egypt and Ethiopia" (see n. 1, 28).

forth freely without special attention to either area. After an introductory passage, now missing, the text begins its account on neutral ground, with a brief reference to the founding of a new city, Kar-Esarhaddon, on the site of a conquered city on the Mediterranean. It then describes the decoration of temples in Babylonia with booty from Egypt, moves to Assyria for the reconstruction of the Enlaššar temple of Nineveh, returns to Babylonia for a description of work on the Esagila temple of Borsippa, and then turns north again to describe work on the Assyrian temple of Ištar in Arbela, weaving in an assortment of other pious undertakings on the way. Throughout the text, the gods and building projects of both Assyria and Babylonia receive equal attention and respect as a matter of course, and national bias is consistently avoided.[14] Like the "Assur-Babylon" texts, the "Sennacherib" text represents a significant departure from the earlier building inscriptions we examined because it seems designed to appeal equally to Assyrians and Babylonians and to present to this audience a single, undifferentiated image of the king and his activities. The implication is once again that the two peoples represent in effect a single audience. Both surviving copies of the text are inscribed on clay tablets found at Nineveh, but the setting in which they were meant to be used, whether in Assyria or Babylonia, is unclear.

Most other Esarhaddon inscriptions adopt a position that lies part way between the position of these late documents and that of the early texts, suggesting that there was a gradual shift toward the integrated approach that characterizes the late inscriptions. Although a few texts from the intermediate years, such as Babylon C and E, retain the early pattern of a clear separation of audiences,[15] most texts that can be dated to the intermediate years show an increasingly even-handed treatment of Assyrian and Babylonian motifs and an increasingly integrated approach to the two audiences.

Nineveh B and Calah A, two long building inscriptions both probably used as foundation deposits in the Assyrian cities where they were found, and both dated to 672, are examples of such transitional texts from the middle years

[14] This is particularly evident in the gathering [illegible] Assur [illegible] called Šubanibi [illegible] and [illegible] Nabû [illegible] Sîn of Nineveh [illegible] Nabû of Borsippa [illegible] Assyrian or Babylonian although [illegible] Assyrian or Babylonian temples and the granting of privileges to people whom [illegible] Babylonian.

[15] For the divergent tradition [illegible] and Babylon B to about the same period, see Appendix II. The two texts are late versions of [illegible] composed at the very beginning of the reign and retain the pattern established in those texts.

of the reign prepared for Assyrian audiences. Although each incorporates both Assyrian and Babylonian elements in its introduction, the body of each text emphasizes the national and local interests of the city where the construction work described was taking place.[1] The introduction to the Nineveh B text, for instance, calls Esarhaddon "great king, mighty king, king of all, king of the land of Assyria," all standard Assyrian titles, and follows these with titles and epithets which identify him as ruler of Babylonia as well. The introduction to the Calah A text shows a similar balance of Assyrian and Babylonian elements.

In the narrative portions of both texts, however, this balance is rarely apparent. Instead, their summaries of the king's military achievements and their accounts of his construction of an arsenal and palace in Assyria show a consistently Assyrian outlook. In the account of the king's military undertakings presented in Nineveh B, for example, it is the god Assur in whom Esarhaddon is said to "put his trust" in battling his enemy Sanduarri (ii. 1–45), Assur who overwhelms the Cimmerian land Bet-upri with terror (ii. 41), and Assur whose might is praised in the inscription Esarhaddon sends to the land of Hazzu (ii. 21–31). Although there are occasional references to favors granted to Babylonia (e.g., ii. 41 and iv. ii. 21–41), these references are the exception, and comments about the Babylonians and their gods are kept aside entirely in the account of the building of the Nineveh arsenal that forms the body of the text. Instead, it is the god Assur whose mighty deeds are represented in the relief placed in the arsenal, Assur, Enlil, and the great gods of Assyria who are invited into the palace for its dedication, and Assur and "the gods of Assyria, all of them," who are appealed to for the final blessing that concludes the text.

The body of the Calah A text is equally Assyrian in tone, representing the king's military successes as contributions to Assyria's welfare and consistently attributing the king's success to the help given him by the Assyrian gods. The account of the construction of the arsenal at Calah, which is the main focus of the text, presents Assur as the king's patron god, prisoners working on the arsenal are said to have been captured "through the help of Assur, my lord" (i. 46), and the text concludes by noting that texts deposited in the new palace were inscribed with "the might of Assur, my lord" (ii. 56–57). Like Nineveh B, the Calah A text presents a balance of Assyrian and Babylonian elements only in its introductory titulary; in the body of the text its outlook is almost entirely Assyrian.

[1] [illegible]

This combination of Assyrian and Babylonian elements in introductory passages and a contrasting local outlook in the body of the text emerges as a characteristic pattern in several texts written for Babylonia as well. The Uruk A and Nippur A texts for example, two nearly identical inscriptions each commemorating the construction of a Babylonian temple, again balance Assyrian and Babylonian elements in their introductory titles and epithets and follow this with a narrative which is by contrast consistently Babylonian in outlook and interests in each case describing the construction of a temple on Babylonian soil and honoring the Babylonian patron deity of that temple. Although neither text can be precisely dated, both were probably composed in the middle years of the reign, since the two texts are closely related to the text of the Esh A inscription of 676 and since both contain references to the return of Marduk, a theme that appears most frequently in texts from the second half of the reign. Like their northern counterparts, Uruk A and Nippur A reflect a universal outlook in the introductory framework of the text, but still reflect a provincial point of view in their main narrative, suggesting that in Babylonia as well as in Assyria the emphasis in inscriptions was changing, but changing gradually.

This survey suggests that the changes in emphasis followed a roughly chronological pattern, although the problems in dating many of these inscriptions exactly make it difficult to date the stages of this development with any precision. Since the period of time we are considering here is relatively short, we would not in any case expect to find a fully developed and consistent pattern of changes in attitude, but rather some gradual shifts in emphasis, and this is in fact what the texts suggest. Inscriptions from the early years of the reign, such as Assur A and Babylon A, show a careful differentiation in their approach to Assyrian and Babylonian audiences and present a quite different message to the two groups. A few later texts, such as Babylon C and E, composed in 674 or later, still reflect this different approach to the two audiences despite their relatively late date, but most inscriptions from the middle years of the reign show the beginnings of a change, with introductory passages that now balance Assyrian and Babylonian concerns, but with a main narrative that retains the earlier provincial outlook. In the final years of the reign, a balanced and integrated approach to the two groups emerges more and more clearly. In late texts such as the AsBbA and AsBbE inscriptions and the "Sam-meltext," the idea of a single kingdom uniting both nations is no longer the sole element presented as uniting Assyria and Babylonia. Instead the entire narrative addresses Assyrians and Babylonians as a single community, weaving an integrated account that presents an image of the two nations as essentially one people.

One reason for introducing this new emphasis in the inscriptions may have been a desire to prod members of the power elite in both states toward

acceptance of the closer cooperation between Assyria and Babylonia that was already beginning to be a political reality. Some scholars have gone so far as to argue that there was by this time a coherent pro-Babylonian faction at the Assyrian court, supporting the king's policy of greater unity with Babylonia, although opposed by a nationalist Assyrian party which continued to resist the idea of closer political and cultural relations. Although there were certainly conflicts in the cultural sphere about the appropriate relationship between the Mesopotamian traditions, I cannot see no clear evidence for the existence of coherent pro- and anti-Babylonian political factions at the court, whether related to these cultural opinions, or purely political in origin.[illegible] There is rather, evidence of differences of opinion among individual advisers, some advocating a hard line toward Babylonia and others a more conciliatory stance, but I can see no evidence that people who shared such opinions were ever organized into coherent factions. Nor is it clear that either group should be thought of as less devoted to Assyria's national self-interests than the other; they seem simply to have been advocating different strategies for achieving Assyrian control over Babylonia. One adviser, for example, urges Esarhaddon to make a Babylonian as the next substitute king, commanding: "[the king my lord] knows the Babylonians [illegible] [these plotters should be affiliated]!" (LAS 185), his remarks are example of the more obdurate approach to Babylonia. On the other hand, the adviser who tells the king about an alleged uprising in Babylon (whose occurrence he denies) in which people supposedly had thrown clods of dirt at the Assyrian commandant in protest against the imposition of more taxes, comments sympathetically that the citizens of Babylon are "poor wretches who have got nothing," and is clearly urging a lenient approach (LAS 276). Both writers, however, from all appearances, are equally committed to advancing Assyria's best interests; they simply differ in their opinions of how to go about it. Although there were clearly differences of opinion in Assyria both about Babylonian policy and about Babylonian culture, the growing acceptance of Esarhaddon as ruler in both Assyria and Babylonia by the middle years of the reign made it possible for him increasingly to urge both Assyrians and Babylonians to accept the idea of themselves as in essence a single people, despite some lingering resistance to closer relations within both groups.

[illegible]

A second political development, however, made this change in the emphasis of Esarhaddon's public relations program not only possible, but imperative; this was the somewhat surprising appointment in 672 of two separate heirs to the thrones of Assyria and Babylonia.[5] The selection of separate future kings for the two states suggests, at first glance, that Esarhaddon might have decided to abandon his efforts to bind Babylonia more closely to Assyria, but a closer look at the political situation suggests that his decision was largely a response to internal political pressures in Assyria and that the change in the structure of Babylonia's government was not intended to alter her relationship to Assyria in any significant way.

The son whom Esarhaddon chose to name as future ruler of Assyria and of the empire as a whole was Assurbanipal, a choice that involved passing over the claims of an older son, Sennacherib-ukin.[6] Whether this choice had been forced upon Esarhaddon by pressure from powerful supporters of Assurbanipal, as has sometimes been suggested,[7] whether it was instead the result of Esarhaddon's conviction that Assurbanipal had greater abilities than his brother, as Parpola has suggested and as seems rather more likely,[8] or whether there were still other factors involved, remains unclear. Whatever the reasons may have been for choosing Assurbanipal as the future ruler of Assyria, Esarhaddon's choice of a younger son as principal heir will in turn have played a major role in other decisions. In Esarhaddon's own case, his father's decision to pass over older brothers in order to name Esarhaddon as heir had created problems which had almost prevented him from reaching the throne. His brothers' verbal attacks on him after his appointment had led

[5] There is evidence suggesting that Esarhaddon originally chose as his heir a single son named Sennacherib, to succeed to both thrones. Knudtzon #[illegible] (Esarhaddon's letter to the Assyrian oracle priests), the letter of Adad-[illegible] (Sennacherib's second appointment, however, and his elevation to Esarhaddon's co-regency during Esarhaddon's lifetime), ABL [illegible] (Sennacherib's letter to his father Esarhaddon), Nineveh Steles [illegible] (Sennacherib's Prism Inscription, Assurbanipal's Accession Stele, and p. 214 suggests that Sennacherib had before his appointment served as governor of several provinces.

[6] The letter LAS [illegible] (Esarhaddon's letter to Sennacherib-ukin as "your elder son") (BM [illegible]) [illegible] Sennacherib-ukin as Assurbanipal's [illegible] [illegible] Esarhaddon's [illegible] [illegible] It would suggest that the relationship between the two brothers [illegible] making the two [illegible] the throne [illegible] [illegible]

[7] Weidner in Sidney [illegible] suggested that Assurbanipal's selection by his father's conciliatory policies toward Babylonia [illegible] Esarhaddon's support for Assurbanipal in Assyria [illegible] Esarhaddon's [illegible] instead of Sennacherib-ukin. The [illegible] Assurbanipal's [illegible] the [illegible] Esarhaddon's [illegible] Sennacherib's [illegible] Esarhaddon's [illegible] Babylonian [illegible] Babylonian [illegible]

[8] *Letters*, [illegible] p. [illegible]

his father to repudiate Esarhaddon's claims at least publicly, and had made it necessary for Esarhaddon to leave the country. In the end he had succeeded in taking the throne only by force and against considerable odds. Consequently, Esarhaddon was certainly aware of the threat the older brother Sama-šumu-ukin might pose to Assurbanipal's succession, and Esarhaddon may have felt that he had no choice but to placate Sama-šumu-ukin and his supporters by offering him a position of great importance. The kingship of Babylon may well have been the only appointment prestigious enough to serve the purpose.

The practical benefits of having an Assyrian ruler resident in Babylon may have made the perhaps unavoidable decision more palatable. A resident king in Babylon would be spared the difficulties of long distance government with which Esarhaddon had to contend with and could handle the day-to-day problems of government without delays. While this approach had failed in Sennacherib's time, with the association of Esarhaddon's brother Aššur-nadin-šumi it now had a greater chance of success with Babylonia less belligerent.

Whatever the reasons for the decision to split the kingship and to appoint Assurbanipal as heir apparent to the throne of Assyria, there are signs that Esarhaddon anticipated resistance to the decision and that its announcement did in fact produce tension in Assyria. One sign of these misgivings is that the arrangements for the succession were formally announced in a series of assemblies in Assyria and Babylonia in 672, during which Assyrian professional people and royal advisers, Babylonian elders, leaders of vassal states, ordinary Assyrians, and even members of Esarhaddon's own family were obliged to swear fealty to Assurbanipal and promise to support the arrangements for the succession. This extraordinary series of public meetings, involving even more people than the public assemblies and oaths in Assyria by which Esarhaddon's own appointments as heir apparent had been made official, suggests that Esarhaddon and his advisers expected opposition to the arrangements for the succession and were attempting to encourage compliance with them by imposing formal oaths on a broad cross-section of people in Assyria, as well as on influential people in Babylonia and other conquered territories.[1] No explicit statement of opposition to the arrangement for the succession survives, which is not surprising, since open opposition to a royal policy might well have been interpreted as treason. There is, however, a curious comment made by one of Esarhaddon's closest advisers, the royal exorcist Asḫad-šumu-usur, in an unremarkable laudatory letter about the king's appointment of Assurbanipal over his elder brother. He remarks, "What has not been done in heaven, the

[1] S. I. Feigin, "Loyalty Oaths in Ancient Assyria," in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on His Seventieth Birthday*, p. 2; Borger, *Asarhaddon*, I. II. 12–22. For comments on this passage, see Hugo Winckler, "Die Thronfolge des Asarhaddon," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 11 (1908): 1–3; Weippert, "Die Thronfolgeordnung Asarhaddons," 3–5.

king my lord has done upon earth and shown us: you have gaded a son of yours with headband and entrusted him the kingship of Assyria, your eldest son you have put up to the kingship in Babylon" (LAS 129, ll. 5–11). In Akkadian usage, the comment that an action is something "not done in heaven" would ordinarily imply serious criticism,[24] in the context of the effusive praises in this letter, however, the comment appears intended instead as a compliment, but one wonders whether the ambiguity might be deliberate and whether this might not in fact be a carefully veiled expression of dismay at Esarhaddon's actions. If this is the case, the comment is probably as explicit a statement of such misgivings as we will ever find in writing.

A more direct sign of some problems in Assyria which may be a response to the appointment of the two heirs is the evidence suggesting the development of a plot to overthrow Esarhaddon, summarily suppressed early in the year 670. The clearest evidence for the plot is a series of letters to the king written at that time, which allege that a conspiracy against the king was underway, and suggest that the plot centered in the northwestern Assyrian city of Harrān, and that it involved members very close to the king. A report in the Babylonian Chronicles that in 670 Esarhaddon executed many of his magnates lends support to these allegations. While no reason for the executions is given there, the severity of the punishment inflicted suggests that the king was indeed responding to suspected treason, as Parpola argues.[25] Whether the planned uprising was at least in part a response to the arrangements for the succession remains unclear, but its timing makes this a possibility. Esarhaddon's proposal to repay the captured statue of Marduk — a somewhat controversial figure in Assyria, as we will see — and return it with full honours to Babylon was announced at about this time, as well, and may also have contributed to resentments against the king in some circles.

Whatever the reasons for the unrest in Assyria that culminated in the executions of 670, the unrest was clearly not a response to any enhancement of Babylonia's political power implied by the new arrangements. The documents recording oaths imposed on certain vassals to guarantee their support for the new arrangements for the succession make it clear despite the appointment of a separate ruler for Babylonia, that both her subordinate status vis-à-vis Assyria and her essential powerlessness in the empire were to remain unchanged. Several copies of these seven oaths have come down to us, and their wording strongly implies that effective political power was to remain in the hands of the Assyrian king alone.[26] Throughout the oaths, Šamaš-šuma-

[24] See, for example, Esarhaddon's Apology, where he complains that previous Sennacherib scribes showed him a prophecy that he would be "not regarded" (Nougayrol, Ugaritica V, pp. 71–84 and commentary, l. 40).

[25] [illegible] Parpola, [illegible] Letter, Iraq 45, pp. 258–263. The executions are reported in Grayson, Chronicles, pp. 84, l. 24 and 85, ll. 27–28.

[26] The first edition of these texts were referred to as treaties (see Wiseman, The

ukin, who is to rule Babylonia, is treated as a minor figure, consistently overshadowed by his brother Assurbanipal, now heir to the Assyrian throne. The opening passages, for example, refer to the document as "the treaty . . . concerning Assurbanipal" (p. II, l. 1 and II–12), while Šamaš-šumu-ukin is not even mentioned. Only at the very end, in the colophon to the text (II, 166–167), is the document finally explicitly identified as one that concerns Šamaš-šumu-ukin, as well. Of the thirty-one oaths required from the vassals to insure their support of the arrangements for the succession, only one (II, 96–97) mentions Šamaš-šumu-ukin, that oath requires the vassals to support Šamaš-šumu-ukin's succession to the throne of Babylonia and his receipt of any gifts conferred on him by his father, a stipulation suggesting that Šamaš-šumu-ukin was expected to have little real power. Assurbanipal, in contrast, dominates the text. Another document published by Parpola and Watanabe as text 14, "Esarhaddon's Treaty Inscriptions" (pp. 77–79 and XXXIV), describes a more balanced oath in which both brothers figure on a more equal footing, although Assurbanipal's name appears before that of Šamaš-šumu-ukin. This latter text, which probably comes from Sippar in Babylonia, seems to reflect the Babylonian version of the oath imposed, and here the king intended for the south naturally plays a more prominent role.[29] The oaths imposed on the vassals in the longer text, however, make the future Babylonian king's subordinate status in the larger political sphere quite obvious, despite the appointment of an Assyrian of high status as king of Babylon; the division of political power between the two states was clearly to remain unchanged. Assyria and Babylonia would continue to be united under the rule of a single Assyrian high king, with Šamaš-šumu-ukin ruling in Babylonia as his subordinate—a situation very little different in practical terms from Esarhaddon's administration of Babylonia through governors. The only major difference would be the consolidation of Assyrian power in Babylonia in the hands of a single resident administrator answering to the Assyrian king, with the provincial governors as his own subordinates.

Although in practical terms the changes in Babylonia's relationship to

[29] Text of Esarhaddon's treaty is printed from *Iraq* 20 (1958). Part I. The texts are now available in a revised edition prepared by Kazuko Watanabe, *Die adê-Vereinbarung anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1987), and translations prepared by Simo Parpola and Kazuko Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*, pp. 58–61 and XXVIII. Citations of passages here refer to the latter edition.

[30] Although, to give another example, in the text of ABL 890, recording Esarhaddon's dedication of Šamaš-šumu-ukin to the god Shamash, an unusual gesture probably intended to have a double effect, first to make Šamaš-šumu-ukin more appealing to the Babylonians, despite his Assyrian antecedents, by dissociating him from Assyria and whatever hostility remained toward the Babylonians' patron deity, and second, to suggest subtly Šamaš-šumu-ukin's subordinate position as ruler of Babylonia, the servant of a god who was himself relegated to a subordinate position in Esarhaddon's Akītu inscription.

Assyria would be insignificant, the arrangements for the succession would nevertheless diminish the effectiveness of the Assyrian king as an emblem of the unity of Assyria and Babylonia once they were put into effect. Although the two nations would remain united under a single high king, the ruler of Babylonia would now represent a separate Babylonia under Assyrian control.

With this new arrangement for the future government of Assyria and Babylonia there was now a pressing need to provide a different figurative focus for the unity of the two states, and it is for this reason that the image of Babylonians and Assyrians as a single people, briefly alluded to in the introductions of texts from the middle years, becomes the dominant theme of Esarhaddon's late inscriptions. If the image of the Assyrian king would shortly become less powerful as an image of unity, a newly expanded concept of nation might effectively take its place.

This concept of a united Assyrian and Babylonian people, developed abstractly in Esarhaddon's late inscriptions, finds a concrete and tangible emblem in the statue of the god Marduk. The statue, carried off from Babylon by Sennacherib, we recall, was still being held by the Assyrians in Assur, and the project of restoring it and returning it to Babylon, already mentioned in early inscriptions, receives much greater emphasis in documents from Esarhaddon's final years.

Marduk held a unique position in both Babylonia and Assyria. Although the worship of Marduk in Assyria had for some time produced repercussions which we shall have to consider, he was an appealing god, central to the worship and identity of the Babylonians, worshipped to some extent in Assyria as well, and with the clear potential, if properly presented, of being a powerful rallying and unifying force. In Babylonia, Marduk, totally patron god of the then obscure city of Babylon, had risen early to importance in the area as a whole under the patronage of Hammurapi's dynasty, the First Dynasty of Babylon (1894–1595), later in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I (1124–1103). Marduk had been accorded an unprecedented position of supreme and absolute power in the Babylonian pantheon, a position he was to retain unchallenged after the fall of the Assyrian empire.[7] Although Babylonian in origin, Marduk had begun to be worshipped in Assyria also by the fourteenth century, when an Assyrian building inscription mentions a temple of Marduk in the

[7] [illegible]

city of Aššur.[70] The capture of Marduk's statue in Babylon by the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I in 1244 and its subsequent brief residence in Assyria encouraged the growth of the Marduk cult there. The greater importance of the cult in the following period is indicated both by references in ritual texts from the Middle Assyrian period (ca. 1500–1000) to the occasional inclusion of Marduk in Assyrian rituals,[71] and also by the increasing occurrence in Assyrian texts of personal names using Marduk as the divine element. By the beginning of the Neo-Assyrian period (ca. 950), Marduk was an established, if minor, figure in Assyrian religious life. He now began to play an increasingly important role in the official state religion, beginning with the reign of Assurnasirpal II (883–859), who included Marduk's name in some lists of his patron gods.[72] The increasing importance of Marduk in Assyrian state religion culminated in the reign of Sargon II (721–705), who assigned Marduk a prominent role in his inscriptions, claiming for example, that it was Marduk who "truly called me (sic) among all peoples and lifted my head" (that is, made him king). Sargon's royal epithets routinely refer to him as "righteous ruler, to whom Aššur and Marduk have entrusted an unrivaled kingdom," or as the king who conquers "with the help of Aššur, Nabû, and Marduk."[73] Sargon's inscriptions also report that he sponsored construction of a temple in Nineveh itself for Marduk and Marduk's son Nabû,[74] a striking indication of the importance of Marduk in Assyria in Sargon's time.

Under Sargon's successor Sennacherib, however, Marduk's position in Assyria suffered a reverse, as Sennacherib rarely invoked his name in royal in-

[70] [illegible]

[71] [illegible]

[72] [illegible]

[73] [illegible]

[74] [illegible]

scriptions and instead commissioned bas-reliefs for a temple in Aššur depicting the god Aššur as the hero of the Enūma eliš myth. This was a Babylonian myth which in its traditional form exalted Marduk and was recited as part of the main festival of the Marduk cult in Babylon.[illegible] In these reliefs, Sennacherib is both taking over for Aššur whatever role previously belonged to Marduk, and at the same time paying more or unintentional tribute to Marduk's increasing popularity.

In addition to this effort by Sennacherib to lessen the importance of Marduk, there are indications of more widespread resistance to the rise of Marduk in Assyria. Besides the bas-reliefs commissioned by Sennacherib, there was an Assyrian version of the Enūma eliš in circulation at least in Aššur, which replaces Marduk,[illegible] suggesting that the effort to moderate Marduk's importance in Assyria involved giving the traditional exploits to Aššur in a new context.

An even more pointed attack on the image of Marduk appears in a set of Assyrian documents known as the "Ordeals of Marduk" texts. These texts, found in slightly differing versions at Nineveh and Aššur, take the form of commentaries on a ritual or series of rituals, which are said to represent Marduk being seized and beaten, put on trial, and impaled.[illegible] Although

the tablets are broken at several points and the details of the action they discuss are often unclear, the texts consistently present the image of Marduk as an ineffective and essentially powerless god. These "Ordeal of Marduk" texts, probably written in the final years of Sennacherib's reign or the beginning of Esarhaddon's, are further evidence of resistance to the worship of Marduk among certain literate and theologically sophisticated people in both Assur and Nineveh.

These tensions in Assyria about whether Marduk could appropriately play any role in Assyrian religious life had potential political repercussions and made Esarhaddon's proposed restoration and return of Marduk's statue a controversial and somewhat risky undertaking. Because of his wide appeal to Babylonians and to many Assyrians as well, the figure of Marduk was potentially a powerful unifying force. To restore Marduk to the prominence he had enjoyed in Assyria before Sennacherib's reign, however, and to encourage his worship in Assyria without provoking open opposition from those who saw the worship of Marduk in Assyria as problematic would require considerable tact on Esarhaddon's part. Well aware of the tensions surrounding the figure of Marduk, Esarhaddon initially moved very slowly toward praising Marduk in Assyrian contexts or appearing to encourage his veneration in Assyria. Esarhaddon's extensive restorations of Assyrian temples, for example, begun early in the reign, were probably intended to reassure Assyrians of the king's loyalty to the traditional gods of the nation. Although praise of Marduk occurs in Esarhaddon's inscriptions from the beginning, such comments were initially confined to documents his aim for use in Babylonia.[illegible] As the reign progressed, however, Marduk's name was invoked increasingly often in royal inscriptions intended for Assyria as well. His name appears, for example, in the list of patron gods in the Nineveh B text, written in 673 to announce the beginning of work on a palace and military complex in Nineveh. Marduk's name also appears, Calah A, written in 672 to commemorate the construction of a similar building in the Assyrian city of Calah, appearing there in

[illegible]

a list of gods to whose aid Esarhaddon attributes his widespread conquests (ll. 12–13). While the references to Marduk in these texts remain muted, it is nevertheless significant that the Babylonian national god should appear at all in texts dedicating military venues in Assyria.

In two other texts probably written for use in Assyria in the latter days of Esarhaddon's reign, however, Marduk is assigned a remarkably prominent position, suggesting increasingly open royal support for Marduk in Assyria that was to culminate in Esarhaddon's restoration of Marduk's statue and his attempt to return it to Babylonia. The first of these texts, fragmentary and still unpublished, is described in an article by Rene Labat.[7] Although badly broken, the text's extant lines suggest that it was an account of one of Esarhaddon's two Egyptian campaigns, which would place its composition in 671 or later. Since the text was found in Nineveh, a northern site, it seems likely that it was meant for an Assyrian audience, although the small size of the extant fragment limits the internal evidence that might confirm or refute the hypothesis. According to Labat's description, the text tells how Esarhaddon's soldiers, desperate for water during their direct crossing toward Egypt, were saved by a sudden rainstorm which, the text explains, was sent to them by Marduk. If the text was indeed intended for use in Assyria, this tribute to Marduk is unexpected and significant.

The second text attributing unexpected prominence to Marduk is the well-known "Letter to a God" inscription of Esarhaddon (Borger, Ebr., pp. 108–111), which describes the campaign of the year 673 against the land of Sidon and was probably written shortly after the conclusion of that campaign. Though many remain of the broken introduction to show that the text began by invoking "Assur, king of the gods," in conventional Assyrian fashion (Ebr. I. 1), it also refers to Assur as "the [illegible] my lord," in a later passage (II. 1–7), an further indication that the text was probably intended for an Assyrian audience. It is therefore striking that it is the god Marduk who is credited with giving Esarhaddon's troops victory in the battle that followed. The campaign against Sidon, prompted by events in the land of Subria, in the mountains northwest of Assyria. The text reports that the defenders

[illegible]

of the city succeeded in pouring oil on a siege ramp the Assyrians had built, and in the dead of night set fire to the ramp, intending to destroy it. Their plan failed.

> [illegible] Marduk [illegible] ramp [illegible] the [illegible] the ramp [illegible] the [illegible] the ramp [illegible]

With one well in the city in ruins, the Assyrians were able to penetrate the defenses and take the city. Although the text later gives credit for the victory to the god Assur, the contemporary Assyrian account of Esarhaddon's campaign, which had conquered the hundred Sidonian kings with the help of Assyrian land [illegible], it was actually Marduk, as we see, who is credited with intervening at the critical moment to ensure the rulers' defeat.[illegible] His appearance of Marduk in such a decisive role in this event and in an equally important role in the fragmentary account of the Egypt campaign, is evidence of Esarhaddon's increasingly open exposure of Marduk in texts evidently intended for Assyrian audiences, a development that was now consistent with Esarhaddon's project of restoring and returning the statue of Marduk to Babylon.

It is perhaps tempting to interpret this increasing prominence of Marduk in Esarhaddon's inscriptions as a reflection of Esarhaddon's own religious beliefs, and in emphasizing the political significance of such religious elements in Esarhaddon's inscriptions I do not mean to discount the role that the king's personal beliefs may have played in stimulating his efforts in support of Marduk. The extent to which the king's personal religious convictions are reflected in his public actions, however, is extraordinarily difficult to assess. In royal inscriptions and in annalistic texts, it is the public interests of the king that are presented to us. We see Esarhaddon as a private person only obliquely, through the comments of his advisers; we have almost no evidence of his private beliefs. We do, however, have ample evidence of his public positions on certain religious questions, such as the veneration of Marduk, and there can be little doubt that his public support for the worship of Marduk would have had political repercussions in both Assyria and Babylonia that no intelligent political leader could have overlooked. It is these political aspects of Esarhaddon's theological positions that I am concerned with here. Whatever the king's personal beliefs, he evidently found it important to encourage greater acceptance of the Marduk cult in Assyria in order that religious life there should reflect and support the political changes Esarhaddon was attempting to introduce.

[illegible] Sennacherib. However, to my knowledge, with Marduk [illegible] in this passage [illegible] Isaiah. The appearance of Marduk here, in addition to [illegible] the Lord's role in the incident.

It is also important to realize that in a sense, the religious and political changes Esarhaddon advocated were essentially one and the same. Although politics and religion are for us to a large degree separable categories, for the ancient Mesopotamians they were inextricably intertwined. Marduk and Aššur were simultaneously both gods and emblems of their nations.[illegible] For Esarhaddon to assert in his inscriptions that Marduk had become the son of Aššur was at one and the same time an expression of Esarhaddon's unifying Babylonian policy and also an effort to encourage acceptance of that policy by bringing all the force of the community's shared religious beliefs to its support. It is not surprising, then, that the final step in Esarhaddon's effort to bring the two nations closer together was the simultaneously religious and political project of restoring the statue of Marduk and returning it to its home in Babylon, under the patronage of the Assyrian king, a project through which Marduk would be transformed into an emblem of the unity of the two states, now in every sense a legitimately Assyrian god as well as god of Babylon.

Because Marduk was to some extent a controversial figure in Assyria, as we have seen, Esarhaddon approached this final project to elevate him to greater prominence gradually and with the same caution that had characterized the slowly increasing references to Marduk in his inscriptions. The project of restoring and returning the captive Babylonian statues was mentioned in inscriptions from very early in the reign, but was not made the focus of attention until its final years. Babylon A and Babylon B, for example, written within the first three or three years of Esarhaddon's reign, both contain brief accounts of repairing the damaged statues of the gods and goddesses of Esagila and also imply their eventual return to Babylon (Lyon 32). Inscriptions written during the next several years, however, such as Nineveh G (Borger 1) and Nineveh B, only rarely refer, if at all, to anything other than the repair of the return of the gods, sug-

[illegible]

gesting that the project had been temporarily shelved. The motif reappears with the Calah A inscription of mid-676, and after 674 it is mentioned regularly in texts including Babylon C, Nineveh A, and Tarbisu A, but is still relegated there to brief references, usually in royal epithets.[illegible]

By this time, however, Esarhaddon's increasingly open praise of Marduk in royal inscriptions and in texts such as the ones cited above was already paving the way for finally beginning work on the project of restoring the god's statue. As a final step designed to reduce opposition to the project among those Assyrians who still harbored doubts about the appropriateness of Assyrian veneration of Marduk, a remarkable document was composed. This text, now known as "The Sin of Sargon," reports that Sennacherib himself, despite his final attack on Babylon, had revered Marduk, had himself intended to make a statue for the god, and had now returned from the dead to urge his son Esarhaddon to carry out the statue-making project which he himself had been prevented from completing.[illegible] These assertions, unconvincing as they may seem to modern readers, may well have seemed plausible to Assyrians, who believed their lives were affected by the activities of the dead and who were sometimes advised by them.[illegible] The "Sin of Sargon" text seems in-

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[illegible] The earliest copy of Nineveh B is dated to the spring of 676 [illegible] and the motif is still not mentioned at this point. The motif reappears in the royal epithets of Calah A [illegible] Babylon C [illegible] Nineveh A [illegible] Tarbisu A [illegible] and Calah [illegible] royal epithets [illegible] Sippar A, Sippar B, and Uruk A [illegible]

[illegible] The Sin of Sargon [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Esarhaddon's [illegible]

tended to bring the authority of the venerable Sennacherib himself to counter any remaining objections on the part of conservative Assyrians to the project of restoring Marduk's statue, paving the way for the announcement that work on the project was at last beginning. Finally, in 671 or shortly thereafter, the AsBbA and AsBbL inscriptions were composed to present the restoration of the statue in full detail, as we saw earlier, and the project was at last accorded a prominent role in the royal inscriptions.

In the AsBbL inscription which now gives a full account of the proposed climax of the project, the ceremonial return of the restored statue of Marduk, accompanied by the statues of lesser Babylonian gods, to the city of Babylon, an event here presented as an already accomplished fact:

> [As] of the night of Elul [Ululu] they have now taken the road for Sumer. A festive wa[ssail] in Sumer [illegible] the sun-god coming to the land. From Bābil [illegible] the [illegible] of Babylon, place of bridewealth, were [illegible] every [illegible] [illegible] they daughtered [illegible] and [illegible] Esagila took the hand of his great [illegible] and [illegible] walked. [illegible] before him. Into the midst of Babylon, the city of their home, joyfully I had them enter. In the grove of fruit trees, orchards, canals and gardens of Ešarra, a pure place, through the knowledge of the experts, through the rituals of "Washing of the Mouth," "Opening of the Mouth," washing and purifying before the god, I set the [illegible] before the gods [Ea, Sama, Asarludu, Mah, Kura, Nindakidda, Ninkurra, Ninagal, Gatumdanna, Nungingagal, Ninzadim], I devoted.
>
> AsBbL, ro. II 17–24

The tablet is broken at this point, so we do not know how the text concluded, but the eventual outcome — the gods' return to their temples in Babylon — has already been made clear. The rather flowery language ("as the sun goes out glowing to the lands"), the use of poetic names for Asšur and Babylon ("Bābil" and "Sumer"), the elaborate ceremonies attending the procession as it moved toward Babylon, and the rituals of mouth-washing and mouth-opening used to endow the gods' statues with life when they arrived,[19] all seem intended to place the event on an elevated plane and to underline its solemn significance.

Although this account in AsBbL is the only completely preserved descrip-

[illegible]

tion of the gods' return to Babylon. Briefer passages surviving in other texts indicate that the return of the gods appeared as a major theme in at least two other inscriptions: the AsBbI text, for example, includes fragmentary references to priests used for the ceremonies associated with the return, and refers to the slaughter of sheep at regular intervals on the journey,[58] and the AsBbH text describes how the gods assigned the renewing of the statues to Esarhaddon as his fate, and how he brought the statues to Babylon in "joy and rejoicing" and caused them to undergo the mouth-washing and mouth-opening rituals.[59]

The religious and political implications of returning Marduk's statue to Babylon were considerable and were crucial to Esarhaddon's public relations effort. In proposing to return the captured statue of Marduk to the Babylonians, Esarhaddon was offering to restore to them the emblem of their national identity, as well as the statue in which the living spirit of their chief god and heavenly protector was thought to reside. The return of the statue thus promised the Babylonians both the return of prosperity and safety under the protection of a resident patron god, and also the preservation of their national identity despite political annihilation by Assyria. For the benefit of the Assyrians, on the other hand, the AsBbA text described the reconstruction of the statues in a way that implied that the Marduk being returned to Babylon was no longer the head of a rival Babylonian pantheon, but had become, as we have seen, part of the Assyrian pantheon, the god Aššur's son and honored subordinate. The statue of Marduk being returned to the Babylonians had been transformed into a divine emblem of the unity of the two states and a symbol of their proper relationship. It was a brilliant political and religious compromise, represented in concrete and tangible form by the renewed statue itself.

Because the return of the statue was to be the climax of Esarhaddon's efforts to gain support for his efforts to unite the two states, the project of returning the gods was not only presented in the elaborate verbal description of the AsBb texts, whose principal audience was probably the elite of the two states, but also visually to people at every social level in both states through the elaborate procession in which Marduk's statue made its way toward Babylon—in a sense a dramatization of Esarhaddon's policy to unite Assyria and Babylonia peacefully. A procession was a particularly appropriate vehicle

[58] The relevant passage reads: [illegible] Esarhaddon's name and also to [illegible] Esarhaddon's [illegible] [illegible]. As Borger notes, this suggests that the [illegible] the return of the gods [illegible] strengthened its [illegible] AsBbI.

[59] The relevant passage of AsBbA does make clear that reference to an anticipated return of the gods [illegible] Marduk [illegible] the lesser gods [illegible] Marduk [illegible] It may be, however, that the [illegible] were included in the excerpt by the ancient copyist.

for the presentation of a controversial policy, since the non-verbal nature of a procession invites neither rational evaluation nor disagreement. Like a Fourth of July parade, it does not demand that participants and observers assent to a particular political policy, but merely invites them to be present and by being present, to be drawn in.[7] As the statue and its entourage moved slowly south down the river valley, the procession encouraged free Assyrians and their Babylonian participants in a celebration actively united around the figure of the god Marduk. In their wake, the tires bring in saw the procession pass and observed the repeated sacrifice of oxen. The procession made Marduk's return, and the Assyrian king's approval of it, dramatically apparent to a wide audience. It was itself a kind of narrative thread, linking the two nations with a chain of fires and sacrifices, making the river into a path of avenue joining the two states, and compel the road bringing Assyrian armies to attack Babylonia. Significantly, the final section north to south, Marduk was returning under the patronage of an Assyrian king, and the procession was passed by, was an expression of Assyrian dominance as well as of reconciliation and reunion.

The procession returning the gods presented in several of the "Assur-Babylon" inscriptions as the climax of Esarhaddon's program of reunion with Babylonia, is described there in detail and in an elaborate example. In Esarhaddon's building inscriptions, however, the Akitu inscriptions are prologue, and the return, with all its pomp, did not actually take place until the first year of Assurbanipal's reign.[8] There is evidence that Esarhaddon actually began the procession of return but was forced to bring the statue back to Assyria because of an incident that occurred as the procession reached Babylonia soil. Final planning for the return is reflected in three texts recording oracle requests made under Esarhaddon's administration asking the gods' approval for various aspects of these final plans.[9] A letter written to Esarhaddon a short time later (LAS 296) reports the arrival of the grand procession at Dabbarat, just north of Babylon, and describes how, after its arrival, a certain man had accosted a "strong horse wearing an Ethiopian harness" (plausibly identified by Parpola as the horse drawing the chariot in which Marduk's statue was being transported).[10] The man, who had been promptly seized and arrested, then exclaimed, "The gods Bel (sic), Marduk and Sarpanitu(?) this command have sent word to me: 'Babylon will [illegible] be the foot of Kurigalzu.'" While this state-

[7] [illegible]

[8] [illegible] Esarhaddon's reign, see Appendix I. The [illegible] #103 and #104 [illegible] Parpola, *Letters*, III, pp. 32–35 and Thomas Longstaff, *Bull. de Bibliotheca* [illegible]

[9] Parpola discusses the letters at length in *Letters*, III, pp. 32–35.

ment may seem congenial to us, its implications were evidently both clear and deeply disturbing to the Assyrian officials accompanying the statue. They halted the procession's advance toward Babylon and wrote to the king for instructions. This action, as well as their comment that an informer had later divulged to them that "traitors" (or "law-breakers") were waiting farther down the road, suggests that they had understood the incident as an attempted uprising—totally Babylonian behind the returning statue of their god. Since the statue did not actually return to Babylon until Assurbanipal's reign and is said in Assurbanipal's inscriptions to have been waiting in Aššur in the interim, Esarhaddon evidently decided to return the statue to Assyria to await a more favorable time for its repatriation.[1]

The Babylonian incident, however disturbing it may have seemed at the time, seems to have evoked no general response in Babylonia, and one year later, at the beginning of Assurbanipal's reign, the return of the statues, proudly announced in royal inscriptions, was accomplished without further problems.[2] The return of Marduk's statue, almost certainly welcomed by most Babylonians, was the necessary culmination of Esarhaddon's efforts to win their lasting cooperation, since they were unlikely ever to give full allegiance to a king and nation who continued to hold their god hostage. With Marduk back on Babylonian soil, however, one of the most serious impediments to cooperation with the Assyrians was at last removed. The return of the statue at the beginning of Assurbanipal's reign seems to have been the success that Esarhaddon and his advisers had originally envisioned, helping to inaugurate a long period of Babylonian cooperation with the Assyrian authorities.

The repair and attempted return of Marduk's statue and the elaborate presentation of that project in inscriptions designed for audiences in both Assyria and Babylonia was the final step in Esarhaddon's program to win public support in both Assyria and Babylonia for his controversial efforts to unite the two states in a peaceful and peaceful union under Assyrian rule.

When he had first come to power, wresting the throne from his warring brothers, his chances of survival—much less of success in implementing a controversial policy—had seemed slim. The Chaldeans were in open revolt against him in Babylonia, the Elamites seemed likely to join them at any moment, and many city leaders in Babylonia seemed ready to lend their support to any promising effort at rebellion. In Assyria, Esarhaddon's political and military base, the new king faced the secret opposition of those supporters of his brothers who had survived the recent war, the resentment of those

[1] The statues of Marduk and Zarpanitu were returned to Babylonia, was [illegible] to inscriptions of Assurbanipal. [illegible] See [illegible] for the statue return in Assurbanipal's inscriptions see Streck, [illegible] 2.

whose expectations of power and influence had been crushed when Esarhaddon had unexpectedly been selected as heir to the throne over the heads of his elder brothers, and the skepticism of those who had believed his brothers' recent accusations against him. Out of this unpromising beginning, Esarhaddon had managed to forge a relatively successful eleven years of rule.

Perhaps the most striking success of those years was Esarhaddon's pacification of Babylonia, achieved almost entirely without recourse to military force. Suspected rebels were seized in at least two occasions in Babylonia and punished, but the long and bloody campaigns of the Assyrian army in Babylonia that had marked the reigns of Esarhaddon's predecessors came to an end. After the Chaldean rebels fled from the approaching Assyrian army at the beginning of Esarhaddon's reign without ever engaging the Assyrians in battle, no Assyrian military campaigns were waged against Babylonia during all of Esarhaddon's reign, nor were there to be further Assyrian campaigns in Babylonian soil for almost seventeen years after his death.[21]

To achieve this long period of relatively peaceful relations between two states that had been locked in conflict for generations, Esarhaddon used his skills as a diplomat and administrator, but also supported his achievements in those spheres by the development of an extraordinary public relations program designed to strengthen support for his Babylonian policies. Expanding on the conciliatory gestures toward Babylonia of earlier Assyrian kings, Esarhaddon created an extensive and systematic program of public appearances, public statements, and public patronage designed to win acceptance for Assyrian rule in Babylonia.

The first steps—and the most visible—were to build. Esarhaddon sponsored construction work on nine temples in Babylonia, beginning with the renowned national cult center Esagila in Babylon itself. Assyrian kings before him had sponsored building projects in Babylonia, but never on this grand scale. From the first year of his reign, Esarhaddon asserted in Babylonia the role of builder king, an essential element in the Babylonian concept of kingship, and did so with a breadth and openhandedness that in time made his friendly intentions toward Babylonia physically evident in cities throughout the country. At the same time, similar building projects were begun across Assyria to reassure the Assyrians of their king's unwavering commitment to their interests despite these attentions to the needs of their recent enemies.

[illegible]

The second step in this program, begun simultaneously, was to present to the Babylonians an image of the king that would underline the ideological message implicit in his building program, that Esarhaddon, a builder king in the best tradition of Babylonian kingship, was in fact an acceptable Babylonian ruler, the embodiment of the essential elements of Babylonian kingship despite his contrasting role as king of Assyria. This message was presented in both actions and words. In the first year of reign, the king made a personal appearance in Babylon and enacted the ancient Babylonian royal ritual of "beating the basket" as part of ground-breaking ceremonies for the restoration of Esagila, the temple of Babylonia's national god Marduk. In the inscriptions commemorating the event, the king is described as acting at the command of the Babylonian own gods, and his personal participation in the rebuilding of the temple is underlined. Moreover, in this and other building inscriptions composed for use in Babylonia, the king revived the use of Babylonian royal titles not employed in the reigns of his predecessor, thus acknowledging both his respect for Babylonian traditions and his intention to permit Babylonia's national identity to survive under Assyrian rule.

In these inscriptions attention is focused on the king not as an individual, but as a ruler who regularly assumes the aspect of a Babylonian king, performing Babylonian royal ritual, serving as the willing agent of her gods, and using the titles that had long identified Babylonian kings. The texts present Esarhaddon to Babylonians as a suitable embodiment of their national identity and traditions. These texts, I have argued, were not only kept to the limited audience of the king's actions, but were also presented orally to contemporary Babylonians in the form, perhaps, of speeches at the ground-breaking ceremonies themselves. In this way the texts became effective vehicles for presenting to the Babylonians an image of Esarhaddon as a king worthy of their acceptance and support.

Here again, attention to Babylonia were balanced by similar attentions to Assyria, where the king also participated in ground-breaking ceremonies at the national temple, and where inscriptions were probably also orally presented to contemporary audiences to present a carefully shaped Assyrian image of the king, providing a counterweight to his actions in Babylonia and to the royal image presented there.

By the middle years of the reign, a new trend begins to be evident in Esarhaddon's public relations program. The degree of acceptance of the king by now evident in both nations, an acceptance strengthened by the military successes of his early years, made it possible for him to begin to encourage both Assyrians and Babylonians to take a further step and acknowledge that their unity lay not only in their rule by a single king, but also in a natural unity based on a long-shared religious and cultural tradition that made them in essence one people, despite their recent bitter relationship. Because of that

bitterness, however, the idea of themselves as a single community was likely to encounter resistance in both camps, at least initially, and the inscriptions from the middle years put this idea forward cautiously, implying a community of interests in the introductory titles and epithets of the king, but not in the body of the inscriptions, which retain the local and provincial outlook that was traditional for building inscriptions in both nations.

It was only in the late years of the reign that this changed and expanded national image, an image permitting and in fact encouraging a lasting union of the two states, finally emerged as the main theme of a series of annual inscriptions prepared for audiences in each of the two states. In these inscriptions projects benefiting each of the two groups were presented with equal emphasis in a single text that addressed Babylonians and Assyrians almost as a single audience, a single community sharing a common interest in projects in both areas.

One reason for this shift in emphasis in the later public relations program, from the earlier focus on the image of the king as a symbol of the unity of the two states to a new focus on a united national image, may have been the decision to name not one, but two heirs to succeed Esarhaddon on the throne, one king to rule the empire as a whole from Assyria, the other to rule as that king's subordinate in Babylonia. This split meant that after Esarhaddon's death, the Assyrian king would come to embody, or at least, the unity of the two states in his own person. Another form of unity was now required, and the image of nation, rather than that of king, was the one Esarhaddon and his advisers now chose.

The third development in Esarhaddon's public relations program in support of his Babylonian policy appears in these same late texts, as well: the project of restoring the captured statues of Marduk and other Babylonian gods and returning those statues with much fanfare to their now restored temples in Babylonia. The reasons for the Assyrian choice of this project were twofold. On the one hand, the return of Marduk was the natural—and necessary—culmination of Esarhaddon's efforts to win the Babylonians' allegiance. Despite the progress Esarhaddon had already made in this regard, the Babylonians were unlikely ever to feel real loyalty toward a king and nation that continued to hold their national gods captive. Marduk's return was necessary to seal them in acceptance of Assyrian rule and cement the growing bonds between the two states.

The rehabilitation of Marduk's statue and its return under Assyrian auspices offered to strengthen that bond in a second, more complex, way. Many Assyrians already worshipped Marduk as a god. At least some Assyrians had done so for generations, and the veneration of Marduk in Assyria seemed, particularly after Sargon's patronage of the cult, to be rapidly growing in importance. As a purely religious phenomenon, this growth of the worship of

Marduk in Assyria is not surprising; he was, after all, an appealing deity, a god of light and a revered source of healing and protection from misfortune. Nevertheless, Marduk continued to retain his role as the patron god of Babylon and the Babylonians. It was probably this nationalistic aspect of the god that had produced a recurrent resistance to Marduk's worship in Assyria, particularly evident in the reign of Esarhaddon's father Sennacherib, when military conflicts with Babylonia were intense. If this resistance to Marduk's worship in certain quarters in Assyria could be overcome, the figure of Marduk could make a valuable contribution to Esarhaddon's efforts to draw the two states closer together. As a major god worshipped in both states, Marduk would be a powerful unifying force, a uniquely effective emblem of unity and of divine approval for that unity. Esarhaddon's efforts to return the statue to Babylon under his own patronage seem designed to present Marduk in this light, as a god at once Assyrian and Babylonian, beloved of the Assyrians and supporting their rule at the same time that he continued to care for his own particular people, the Babylonians. In an effort to defuse potential Assyrian resistance to this official encouragement of the cult of Marduk, who after all remained to some extent someone else's patron god, one of Esarhaddon's inscriptions commemorating the restoration of the statue proposed the novel idea that the statue's reconstruction in the temple of Assyria's chief god Aššur represented a kind of rebirth in which Marduk had become the son of Aššur and a permanent—but slightly subordinate—member of the Assyrian pantheon. By this ingenious (and rather audacious) formulation, Marduk was transformed into an emblem of Assyrian-Babylonian unity and at the same time an emblem of Assyria's dominance in that union, one here characterized as reflecting the divine order. This formulation, if accepted, might permit even conservative Assyrians to worship Marduk without further reservations. The restoration and return of Marduk's statue, and the presentation of that project in inscriptions intended for both states as well as in a grand procession, was the final development in Esarhaddon's systematic program to encourage acceptance of his Babylonian policy in both states.

That images, emblems, and figurative actors play a significant role in shaping national identities and loyalties is a commonplace of modern political theory; it seems evident from Esarhaddon's public actions and public papers that Esarhaddon and his advisers also understood this principle, at least intuitively, and used it to good advantage. What earlier Assyrian kings had been unable to compel from the Babylonians, Esarhaddon won from them peacefully and by their own consent, doing so in large part by his effective use of figurative aspects of national life as tools to affect political behavior.

Recognizing the importance to Babylonians of preserving a sense of their own national identity, Esarhaddon allied himself to the most powerful icon of that national identity—their king and their god—and made efforts to re-

shape those images into forces that might encourage the Babylonians to acceptance of Assyrian rule and of closer unity with the Assyrian people. It is perhaps ironic that the Assyrians, a people renowned for their use of military force and their brutality, should have provided us with this model of the effectiveness of the more peaceful tools of government.

Despite their well-earned (and carefully cultivated) reputation as one of the most violently repressive nations of the ancient Near East, the Assyrians were, however, capable at times of a flexibility and sensitivity in government that in the case of Esarhaddon's Babylonian policy proved highly effective. Despite the controversial nature of his policies, he died not by assassination, but from illness, on his way to lead a military campaign against Egypt in 669. The transfer of power to his two sons after his death was carried out peacefully, without any attempt at revolt even in Babylonia, in marked contrast to the situation after the death of his father twelve years earlier.[10] Esarhaddon's successors, Assurbanipal in Assyria and Šamaš-šumu-ukin in Babylonia, ruled for a further seventeen years without significant outbreaks of resistance in Babylonia, suggesting that Esarhaddon had largely succeeded in creating a climate of opinion in Babylonia that would prove receptive to Assyrian rule even in his absence. It was not until 652, in the seventeenth year of joint rule after Esarhaddon's death, that the mounting rivalry between the two brothers erupted in the ill-fated Babylonian revolt led by Šamaš-šumu-ukin against Assurbanipal. The war between the two brothers, bitter though it was, should not, I think, be taken as an indication that Esarhaddon's efforts to build acceptance of Assyrian rule in Babylonia had been a failure. Šamaš-šumu-ukin's revolt, in contrast to earlier Babylonian uprisings, appears to have been in many respects an Assyrian civil war, fueled by Babylonian nationalist feeling, but precipitated in large part by the failure of the two Assyrian rulers to achieve a working relationship.

What is remarkable about the war between the brothers is not that Babylonia had eventually rebelled again, but that it was almost thirty years from the time of Esarhaddon's accession before war between the two states again erupted. Under Esarhaddon's administration, and in the years that followed it, the costly cycle of Babylonian revolts and Assyrian punitive campaigns for a time came to an end, and the image of a united Assyria and Babylonia that Esarhaddon was striving to promote became briefly a reality. The period of peace that Esarhaddon created between these two states stands as a monument to the power of images and to Esarhaddon's effective use of the peaceful arts of government.

[10] It should be noted that the uncertainty of the transition was encouraged by the action of the dowager queen, Naqi'a, who imposed a second oath of loyalty (ABL 126) in support of Assurbanipal's accession at the crucial moment.

APPENDIX ONE

Introduction to the Documentary Sources

THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FROM MESOPOTAMIA for Esarhaddon's reign is both rich and problematic. This essay is meant to serve as a brief introduction to this literature, intended particularly for those not familiar with the genres in common use in Mesopotamia. It provides a brief introduction to each type of text represented here, a note about where each individual text is published, and finally some comments about any problems each group of texts presents. The essay is based on Esarhaddon's own inscriptions, since these are the primary source for this study. The exception to this rule is the Babylonian Chronicles, discussed in the first section of the essay, which remain the primary source for the chronology of Esarhaddon's reign. Other sources of documentary evidence for Esarhaddon's reign, including biblical and classical texts, as well as inscriptions of other Assyrian kings, have been introduced as necessary to the text itself and are therefore not included here. The dating of the inscriptions is discussed separately in Appendix II.

The Babylonian Chronicles

The Chronicles are the logical starting point for any study of Esarhaddon because they provide a daily list of major events in his reign and are the only sources to provide such a comprehensive chronological framework. The Chronicles have been published in a modern critical edition prepared by A. Kirk Grayson, *Babylonian Chronicles*, which describes the genre as a whole and provides a transliteration, translation and commentary for each chronicle. A typical Babylonian chronicle lists the years of reign of a series of kings of Babylonia, noting some of the major events that occurred in each lunar year; these kings of Assyria who also ruled Babylonia, such as Esarhaddon, are included. Although a chronicle often records events that occurred centuries before the copies of the chronicle which we have were written, comparative studies suggest that the chronicles are relatively accurate chronologically.

Three Babylonian Chronicles deal with the period of Esarhaddon's reign: Grayson's Chronicle 1, Chronicle 14 (known as the "Esarhaddon Chronicle") and Chronicle 16 (the "Akitu Chronicle"). Of the three, Chronicle 16 offers the briefest account. It is a specialized chronicle reporting interruptions in the annual celebration of the *akitu* festival at Babylon and describing the events which caused those interruptions—surviving in a single undated copy covers-

ing the period from the reign of Esarhaddon's father Sennacherib in Babylonia (688–681) to the first year of the Babylonian king Nabopolassar (626–625). Its significance for us is its report that the festival was not celebrated during Esarhaddon's reign because the statue of Marduk was in Assyria.

Chronicle 1 and Chronicle 14 are more typical, offering lists of major events in each year of Esarhaddon's reign as seen from a Babylonian perspective. Chronicle 1 survives in three copies, two of them fragmentary and undated, and the third dated to the time of the Persian king Darius I (521–486). It covers the period from the reign of the Babylonian king Nabû-nāṣir (747–734) to that of Esarhaddon's successor in Babylonia, Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (667–648). Chronicle 14, also known as the "Esarhaddon Chronicle," survives in a single undated copy. Although it uses the year-line format typical of the Chronicles, it is unusual in restricting its account to the reign of Esarhaddon and the first few years of his successor. While these two Chronicles often parallel, sometimes identical, accounts of the reign, suggesting that they drew their information from a common source, Chronicle 14 omits any mention of two major setbacks to Esarhaddon, the sack of Sippar by the Elamites and the disastrous failure of the first Egyptian campaign, substituting for the latter event a minor military success in Babylonia. These differences, and the text's concentration on Esarhaddon's reign, suggest a bias in Chronicle 14 in favor of Esarhaddon, so that the text must be used with some caution.

For the most part, however, the two Chronicles agree, confirming and occasionally supplementing each other's accounts. They offer conflicting information on only two points, both concerning the dates of battles. In reporting the conquest of the land of Subria in 673/2, Chr. 14 reports that the capital city fell on the 18th of Addāru (Feb./Mar.), the last month of the Assyrian year, while Chr. 1 places that event slightly earlier, in the month Tebetu (Dec./Jan.) and adds that booty from the city was sent to Uruk in Kislimu (Nov./Dec.), that is, almost a year later. This delay in sending the booty seems odd, suggesting an error in the Chr. 1 account here. The two Chronicles also differ in their accounts of Esarhaddon's second Egyptian campaign; Chr. 14 reports a single major battle in Tašrītu (Sept./Oct.), while Chr. 1 reports several battles and places them all earlier, in the month Du'ūzu (June/July). These reports of the Egyptian campaign may not be mutually exclusive, but their differences make it clear that neither Chronicle's account of the campaign can be accepted without further analysis.

In contrast, the two texts agree on two dates which are probably in error, the beheading of the king of Sidon in the month Tašrītu (Sept./Oct.) of 671 and the defeat of the land of Bāzu in that same month. Both events are also reported in Nineveh B7, an inscription dated to the spring of 670, several months before the events even occurred according to both Chronicles' ac-

counts. Israel Eph'al (*The Ancient Arabs*, 54 ff.) has pointed out another possible error which both Chronicles share. Both assign the conquest of the town of Arza—a jumping-off place for the desert crossing to Egypt—to the year 670, while Esarhaddon's Nineveh A inscription discusses it just after describing the death of the king of Sidon, which probably took place in 670. If the Nineveh A inscription is following a roughly chronological plan here, as seems likely, it implies a later date for the seizure of Arza, closer to the beginning of the first campaign to Egypt in 674, for which the capture of Arza would have been a logical first step. It seems likely that on this point the inscription preserves a more accurate record than the two Chronicles.

Despite these manifest difficulties, the three Chronicles offer what appears to be accurate, if lamentably brief, chronological accounts of the major events in Esarhaddon's reign as seen from a Babylonian perspective, making them an invaluable source of information not preserved in any other text.

Borger's Edition of Esarhaddon's Royal Inscriptions

Esarhaddon's royal inscriptions, the official public papers of the reign, survive as some seventy-five individual texts, many preserved in multiple copies. All of these texts, which constitute the major contemporary documentary sources for the reign, were collected and republished in an authoritative modern edition prepared by Rykle Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien*, which provides a transliteration, translation and extensive philological commentary for each inscription. Since 1956, several new texts, fragments and modern copies of texts (some of them recordings made from signs or parts of signs which have since been lost as the texts deteriorated) have been published to supplement Borger's edition; these more recently published texts and copies are listed in Appendix III.

Borger's edition (hereafter *Inschr.*) is now acknowledged as the standard edition for most of Esarhaddon's texts. Since, however, it can be confusing to the uninitiated, it requires some introduction. It is helpful, first of all, to understand the system of labeling the inscriptions that Borger adopts, which provides a convenient way to refer to individual texts and groups of texts, and will probably be standard for years to come. Borger assigns each text a name that either reflects the type of text it represents (e.g., monument text or treaty) or, in the case of building inscriptions, reflects the city in which the building project described in the text took place. It is important to realize that this is not always the city in which the text was discovered; for the provenance of each text, see Appendix IV. Since there are often several texts describing work in the same city or even on the same project, each distinct text is assigned its own letter, e.g., "Assur A." In addition, each ancient copy of such a text is individually numbered, e.g., "Assur A4."

All the texts to which Borger assigns the same name and letter have been identified by him as essentially identical, with only minor variants. The sole exception to this system is the Nineveh palace inscriptions, published as a composite text which Borger calls "Nineveh A–I"; in this case, documents which share the same letters are not necessarily exact duplicates, but are more loosely grouped into "classes" of texts. In some cases these "classes" are made up of duplicate texts, but in other cases the texts included in a single class differ slightly in the material they include; see, for example, Borger's comments on Nin. H nos. A7–A8.

Another possible source of confusion is Borger's decision to publish two large sets of inscriptions, the Nineveh palace inscriptions (Nin. A–I) and the longer Babylon inscriptions (Bab. A–G), as composite texts, an arrangement which facilitates comparison of similar passages in the texts, but which obscures sometimes significant differences in the order of events the texts describe or in the overall structure of those texts. This is particularly a problem in the case of Nin. B, Nin. C, and Bab. G, in which the order of events differs considerably from that of Nin. A and Bab. A, which Borger uses as his main texts.

Some of these problems presents no real difficulty, however, so long as the reader is aware of them. A potentially more serious problem in preparing an edition of Esarhaddon's inscriptions was the danger of accidentally creating new "patchwork" texts while attempting to piece together texts which survive only in fragments. A careful review of the original cuneiform editions of these fragmentary texts suggests, however, that Borger has intentionally avoided this pitfall, grouping pieces as parts of a larger text only when there is extensive overlapping in the text preserved on the various fragments. For most minor texts, moreover, at least one copy survives in fairly complete form. The result is an edition of commendable accuracy. Borger's publication makes major contributions to our understanding of Esarhaddon's inscriptions and will long remain the definitive edition.

Full-length Building Inscriptions and Brick Inscriptions

Long building inscriptions form the largest single category of Esarhaddon royal inscriptions, including about thirty different texts, some surviving in many copies. These building inscriptions are published in the first section of Borger's book. Most of the full-length building inscriptions describe a single large public building project sponsored by the king, usually the construction of a palace and arsenal complex or a temple, or more rarely, a processional street, canal, or other public edifice. The Babylon building inscriptions are a variation on this traditional pattern, describing several projects in that city, rather than restricting themselves to a single building. Building inscriptions were

composed in Esarhaddon's reign for projects in both Assyria and Babylonia in a total of eight cities, including Aššur, Babylon, Borsippa, Calah, Nineveh, Nippur, Tarbisu, and Uruk. In addition to Esarhaddon's own building inscriptions, Borger publishes one building inscription commissioned by Esarhaddon's mother Naqia (K 2475+, *Asarh.*, 115–116), commemorating her construction of a palace for Esarhaddon in Nineveh. These full-length building inscriptions are usually inscribed on small barrels or prisms of clay, or on clay tablets. Their accounts are echoed by a second group of much briefer inscriptions commemorating the same projects and inscribed or stamped on bricks or stone slabs.

Several of the full-length building inscriptions are of particular interest because they include in their introductions a narrative account of major military and political events of the reign. As in most Assyrian inscriptions, the events included are limited to those in which the king could present himself as ultimately successful. The most detailed of these accounts are preserved in the texts Borger labels Nineveh A–E, the building inscriptions for the Nineveh arsenal and palace complex. In addition, a badly fragmented list of events in the reign introduces Mosul H, a text inscribed on a stele found at a provincial city in the west. Shorter accounts of events in the reign, in the form of a long list of royal epithets describing the king's achievements, are included in two inscriptions, Calah A and Tarbisu A.

Unlike the royal inscriptions of many of his predecessors, most of Esarhaddon's historical inscriptions present events in geographical groupings rather than in strictly chronological order. Nin D and Nin E, however, number military campaigns and present them in chronological order. The fragmentary texts published by Borger at the end of his edition, of which the longest are Frg. A, B, and C, offer fragments of additional accounts of events in the reign; of these, Frg. C, of which a substantially short piece survives, also presents events in a chronological arrangement, numbering each military campaign. The texts known as Babylon A–C also include extensive historical narratives, along with their accounts of building activities, but confine themselves largely to the events associated with Babylon's destruction late in Sennacherib's reign and say little about events in the reign of Esarhaddon himself.

Inscriptions Describing Two or More Building Projects

Although most of Esarhaddon's building inscriptions follow the traditional pattern, dealing with only one building project in a single city, a few of his inscriptions take the unusual step of describing projects in more than one city. Several of these describe building projects in the twin cities of Aššur and Babylon; these are published by Borger as the "Aššur," or "Assur-Babylon."

texts (Borger, 2000). Two longer texts of this genre, A.0.104.2 and A.0.104.3, are the almost intact and detailed accounts of the campaigns against Urartu and Kummuḫ in Asia and Babylonia respectively, [illegible] of gods. A.0.104.2 [illegible] an account [illegible] Esarhaddon's military successes through the year 671.

A unique text from Esarhaddon's reign, Borger, "Neuinventar" (2000, 95 ff.), describes a series of building projects, starting with the rebuilding of the capital Magnanu [illegible] Esarhaddon's [illegible] building projects and previous documents in texts throughout both Assyria and Babylonia.

Palace Inscriptions (Other)

A number of texts inscribed on various objects, these objects being largely in the palaces of Esarhaddon at Nineveh and Calah. The texts are brief, usually consisting only of the name, titles and genealogy of the king. Such inscriptions occur on the back of three cubes (Calah 19 and Nineveh I) on gaming boards (Nineveh K, under which heading Borger also published duplicates from Calah, on a vase, Nineveh N, and on a bronze lion weight, Nineveh P). These are published in Borger, "Neuinventar" (2000).

"Letter to a God"

The so-called "letter to a god" texts take the form of a detailed report on a single battle or campaign, sometimes [illegible] a letter to a god or goddess. For a discussion of these characteristics of the genre, see R. Borger, "Gottesbrief," 375–376. Two Esarhaddon texts appear to be of this genre, Borger, 102–107, although only a small section of the first text, Gbr. I, survives. Its extant passages suggest that Esarhaddon described the same events as those covered in the much longer several "letter to a god" texts, Gbr. II, that is, the successful Assyrian siege of the city of Uppume, capital of the land of Šubria, to the north of Assyria. Both texts are inscribed on tablets found at Nineveh, and Borger, suggesting these were part of the same document, publishes their texts as a single continuous account.

Treaties and Oaths

Copies of several texts recording treaties or oaths of loyalty to Esarhaddon have survived. The first, published by Borger (96 ff.), is an agreement between Esarhaddon and Baʿal of Tyre, inscribed on a tablet found at Nineveh. Two fragmentary documents (Borger's Frs. 13 [K. 4473] and the text numbered 88-1-18, 366 and described by Borger on p. 120 n.) also belong to this text, as Borger notes. A more recent edition of the treaty with Baʿal which includes a fragment not known to Borger (Sm. 1964) has been published by

Simo Parpola and Kazuko Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*, 24–27.

The second text usually referred to as a treaty of Esarhaddon is perhaps more accurately characterized as a list of oaths imposed on various vassal city-rulers and chieftains requiring them to support the accession of Esarhaddon's sons Assurbanipal and Samas-šuma-ukin after Esarhaddon's death. The text recording these oaths survives in fragments of what were once nine or more separate documents, each inscribed on a large tablet. These were discovered in a throne room in the temple of Nabû on the citadel of Calah during excavations in 1955. The first edition of the texts is that of D. J. Wiseman, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon*. Revised editions have more recently been published by Kazuko Watanabe, *Die adê-Vereinbarung anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons*, and by Simo Parpola and Kazuko Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties*, 28–58. In addition, an Esarhaddon inscription recently published by A. Kirk Grayson ("Akkadian Treaties," 135 ff. and 155 ff.) and now republished in revised form by Parpola and Watanabe (*Treaties*, 77–79) describes what appears to be a more Babylonian version of these oaths. A badly fragmented text, also published by Parpola and Watanabe (89), records an oath of loyalty to Esarhaddon.

Another text recording a formal oath of loyalty to Esarhaddon, first published by Parpola in "Neo-Assyrian Treaties," 150 ff. and 163, and now published in transliteration and translation by Parpola and Watanabe, 22–23, refers to Esarhaddon not as "king," but as "my lord," and probably represents an oath of loyalty requiring support of Esarhaddon when his father should die and he himself claim the throne. It is recorded on a clay tablet found at Nineveh.

Monument Inscriptions

Several long inscriptions of Esarhaddon were inscribed on stelae or on cliff faces, all located outside the Assyrian homeland in the western provinces, and all datable on internal evidence to late in the reign, after the successful campaign against Egypt in 671. They are published in *Asalu*, 98–102. "Monument A," inscribed on a basalt stele more than 10 feet high, was found at Tell Ahmar (modern Zincirli) in the Amanus Mountains, capital of the Assyrian vassal state of Sam'al. The stele, in excellent condition, carries both the inscription and a bas-relief, which shows the king facing a series of emblems of gods and holding a horn-shaped object, a mace, and two reins which descend to rings in the noses of two smaller figures, one with Negroid facial features and Egyptian royal insignia, who perhaps represents a son of the pharaoh Taharqa, captured during Esarhaddon's second Egyptian campaign, and the other probably representing the Phoenician king Abdi-Milkutti, captured somewhat earlier. (For further discussion, see François Thureau-Dangin, "Tell Ahmar," pp. 185–205.) The inscription runs across the small figures and the lower body of the

king. Two clay tablets provide copies of parts of the same text (Asah., 99). The stele and its provenance are described by the excavator, F. von Luschan, in *Ausgrabungen von Sendschirli*, I (Berlin: 1893), 11–29. A photograph of the stele is published by James B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology*, no. 123.

The second monument inscription of Esarhaddon, Mnm. B, inscribed on a large, now fragmented stele of black basalt, was found near the mound of Tell Ahmar (ancient Til-Barsip), an Assyrian vassal city guarding a major ford across the Euphrates in northern Syria. What remains of its relief is almost identical in design to that of the Zincirli stele, although neither the carving nor the inscription were finished in this case; the modeling of the feet remains unfinished, and the text breaks off in mid-stream, leaving several blank lines ruled out on the stone but unfilled. A similar stele, uninscribed, was found inside the gatehouse of the city and bears a nearly identical bas-relief. For descriptions of the stelae and their locations, see Thureau-Dangin, "Tell Ahmar," 188–205.

The third inscribed monument of Esarhaddon, Mnm. C, is one of a series of large rock-cut reliefs honoring conquering kings, on a cliff at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb, just north of Beirut in Lebanon. The relief, badly weathered, depicts a bearded king wearing the Assyrian crown and clothed in an ankle-length tunic. In his left hand he holds a scepter, and in his right, a bowl or cup. Eight emblems of gods are ranged before his face. The inscription, also badly weathered, runs across the lower body, beginning at waist-level. For a description and photo, see F. Weissbach, *Die Felsreliefs und Inschriften am Nahr el-Kelb*, 22–40 and Tf. XI.

A possible fourth Esarhaddon monument inscription was discovered in 1972 by F. Vanden Berghe on a rock face at Shikaft-i Gulgul, a remote location on the western slopes of the Zagros Mountains east of Baghdad. Both inscription and relief are badly weathered, making attribution to Esarhaddon uncertain. For a description and a copy of the inscription, see A. Kuhrt, Grayson and Louis D. Levine, "The Assyrian Relief from Shikaft-i Gulgul," 27–38.

Short Dedicatory Inscriptions

A few short texts are inscribed on objects dedicated to gods. These include Assur H: a dedication to the god Assur inscribed on a door socket, and Babylon H: a dedication to the god Marduk inscribed on a lapis lazuli cylinder seal depicting a male figure holding a lightning bolt. The short brick inscriptions from Babylon (Bab. I–N and Uruk Uruk F, F, and G) also belong to the category of short dedicatory inscriptions, although they dedicate buildings and in one case a walkway, rather than small objects. Wilfred G. Lambert has recently published in "An Inscription of Esarhaddon's Queen and other Similar Texts," 65–71, an inscription on an eye-shaped agate which identifies the

stone as belonging to Esarra-hamat, one of Esarhaddon's wives. As Lambert notes (76), this altar was probably a votive object, with the inscription identifying the donor.

The fragmented inscription found on a decorated strip of bronze recently acquired by the Louvre may also have been a dedicatory inscription, if the strip originally was part of the decoration for an altar or thronebase, as Parrot and Nougayrol suggest. Attribution to Esarhaddon is tentative but plausible. See André Parrot and Jean Nougayrol, "Asarhaddon et Naqi'a sur un Bronze du Louvre (AO 20185)," *Syria*, 33 (1956), 148–160.

Mortuary Inscriptions

Assur 14.*Assur*, 116, an inscription carved on a rough and badly broken piece of gypsum found at Assur, is evidently the remains of a mortuary inscription for the same queen, Esarra-hamat.

Inscribed Seals

Seal impressions found on jar sealings, bullae, and tablets discovered during the excavations at Calah include two inscribed seals of Esarhaddon. These are published by Barbara Parker, "Seals and Seal Impressions from the Nimrud Excavations, 1955–58," 28 and 38. The royal treaties or archives of Esarhaddon found at Calah also bear seal impressions. These are not impressions of Esarhaddon's own seal, but rather of the seals of Sennacherib, the grandfather, and a Middle Assyrian king. For these, see I. J. Winternitz, *The Royal Treaties of Esarhaddon*, 15–22 and plates III–VI. An uninscribed royal seal of Esarhaddon may survive as one of several ancient objects which were made up into a set of jewelry in 1868 for the wife of the first excavator of Calah and Nineveh, Sir Austen Henry Layard. For a description and photo, see R. D. Barnett, "Lady Layard's Jewelry," 172–179 and plate XXIX.

Amulet Inscriptions

Two ancient copies of inscriptions for neck amulets to be worn by Esarhaddon survive (Borger's 80-7-19, 44, on p. 119, and K. 10220+ K. 10463, p. 118), both on clay tablets.

Documents Presumed Lost

I have not been able to discover the present whereabouts of three documents or sets of documents carrying Esarhaddon inscriptions, if, indeed, they still survive. The first is a set of alabaster slabs found by Layard in a chamber on the mound of Neba Yunus at Nineveh. He reports that the inscriptions gave the name, titles, and genealogy of Esarhaddon and were identical to those he had found on the backs of bulls and sphinxes in the Southwest Palace

at Calah (A. H. Layard, *Discoveries*, 598; the text is that of Borger's Calah D). The second missing document, probably found at Uruk, is a cylinder which Luckenbill describes (*ARAB*, II, p. 279, n. 1) as inscribed with the same text as Uruk A, with "a large number of variant readings." He reports that the cylinder survives now only as a cast in the collection of the Haskell Museum in Chicago, and that the location of the original cylinder is unknown. The third missing documents are two limestone slabs discovered at Tarbisu by Layard (*Discoveries*, 599). He reports that the text on them described Esarhaddon's construction of a palace at Tarbisu for Assurbanipal. The text remains unpublished and the location of the slabs themselves unknown.

Letters

In addition to the royal inscriptions, several other types of documents offer contemporary evidence for the reign. Of these, letters are perhaps the most numerous and certainly one of the most important. These letters, part of a collection of almost 1000 found in the city of Nineveh and dating to the reigns of Sargon, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, were written to Esarhaddon, or in some cases to his mother, by advisers, officials and various professional consultants. A few letters come from the king himself. They deal particularly with problems of members of the court or royal family, with temple administration, and with affairs in Babylonia. Addressed simply "to the king, my lord" and undated, the letters must be arranged in the proper reign and dated, if possible, on internal evidence alone. Simo Parpola argues persuasively that roughly 80 percent of the Nineveh letters can be dated to Esarhaddon's reign (*Letters*, III, p. XII). As private communications between the king and his officials and advisers, they provide an invaluable corrective to the picture which emerges from the king's public papyri. Cuneiform copies of nearly 1,500 of these Nineveh letters of Neo-Assyrian kings were first published by Robert Francis Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum*, *Parts I–XIV*. Although full of errors and long outdated, this remains the standard cuneiform edition of these texts. It has now been supplemented by a cuneiform edition of the remaining unpublished Assyrian letters from Nineveh prepared by Simo Parpola, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part 54*. Neo-Assyrian letters from the Kouyunjik Collection, and by a cuneiform edition of the unpublished Neo-Babylonian letters from Nineveh prepared by Manfried Dietrich, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part 54*. Neo-Babylonian letters from the Kouyunjik Collection. See also Dietrich's extensive preliminary notes, *Weltes Orient*, 4 (1967–68), 61–103 and 183–231, 5 (1969–70), 51–56 and 176–190, and 6 (1970–71), 157–162, as well as his partial translations in the appendix to his book, *Die Aramäer südbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit*

(706–648). See also, however, the critical review by J.A. Brinkman, "Notes on Arameans and Chaldeans in Southern Babylonia in the Early Seventh Century B.C.," 304–325. Simo Parpola's translations of 345 letters to Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, Part I. Texts*, AOAT 5/1 and *Part II. Commentary and Appendices*, AOAT 5/2, discusses the formidable difficulties in translation and interpretation which the letters present and describes Parpola's remarkably successful efforts to resolve many of them. In addition to these Nineveh letters, Neo-Assyrian letters have been unearthed in other cities in recent years, but none of significance for the present study.

Economic Texts

Numerous economic texts survive from the reign of Esarhaddon, including records of loans, bills of sale, contracts, and related legal texts. As sources of information on the prosopography and economics of Esarhaddon's period, they provide important background to the present study; they have not, however, played a central role in my discussion, and I will discuss them here only briefly. A collection of Assyrian economic texts from the reign of Esarhaddon, and of other Neo-Assyrian kings as well, was published in a conservative edition by Claude H.W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*. An edition of these texts in transliteration and translation was published by J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden*. In addition, a small number of Assyrian economic texts from the reign of Esarhaddon were discovered during British excavations at Calah, beginning in 1949. Economic texts from Babylonia dated to the period of Esarhaddon's reign are listed, with bibliographies, by Grant Frame, "Babylonia 689–627 B.C.: A Political History," in the appendix, Table 1, "Babylonian Economic Texts Dated by the Reign of Esarhaddon." An up-dated list of all dated Babylonian economic texts from this period was published by J.A. Brinkman and D.A. Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence for the Economic Base of Early Neo-Babylonian Society: A Survey of Dated Babylonian Economic Texts, 721–626 B.C.," 1–90, with the texts dated to Esarhaddon's reign listed on pages 17–20.

Liver Omen Texts

The liver omen texts consist of some hundred clay tablets, each recording a request to the god Samas for information about what would happen should the Assyrians undertake a particular project, such as an attack on a certain city, a tax-collecting expedition into the Zagros Mountains, or, in the case of the so-called "Aššanâ" texts, the appointment of a particular person to office. The answers to these inquiries were to be indicated by the god through the shapes of the livers of ritually slaughtered sheep, examined and interpreted

by experts trained in this type of divination. A large percentage of the extant liver omen texts can be dated to the reign of Esarhaddon, to whom they refer by name and royal title. In the many cases where such passages are broken, references to people and events often link the omen texts to others in which Esarhaddon is named, making it likely that the great majority of the liver omen texts known to us date from Esarhaddon's time. In a few texts, the crown prince Assurbanipal is named as the inquirer, and in one, Klauber's #66, Assurbanipal is named as king. The liver omen texts are published by Jorgen A. Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott für Staat und Königliches Haus aus der Zeit Asarhaddons und Assurbanipals*, and by Hans Georg Klauber, *Babylonisch-Religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit*. Both editions are now outdated, but have not yet been replaced by a more modern edition (see now the edition of Ivan Starr, *Queries to the Sungod: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*, SAA IV [Helsinki: U. Press, Helsinki, 1990]). For unpublished liver omen queries and reports, see Jussi Aro, "Remarks on the Practice of Extispicy in the Time of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal," 11.

Reports of Extispicy

Four unusual texts, which can be dated on internal evidence to Esarhaddon's reign, take the form of collections of statements made by individuals who assert that they are speaking to a deity, often Ištar of Arbela. The messages offer consolation and encouragement to Esarhaddon, or to his mother, and in several cases seem to refer to events in the period of Esarhaddon's difficulties before he managed to take the throne. The texts vary in form and are difficult to translate and to interpret, a problem exacerbated by frequent broken sections in the tablets. The texts are at present available only in scattered and outdated editions. The tablet K. 2401 is published by S. Arthur Strong, "On Some Oracles to Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal," *Sonderabdrucke aus den Verhandlungen des Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, Bd. II, 627–643, and by James A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, I, pl. 22–25, and corrections. K. 4310 is published by H.C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, IV, pl. 55 (second edition, pl. 63), and two other texts (BM 82-5-22, 527 and K. 6259) are published by Stephen H. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, pls. II, III and IV. Translations and commentaries of widely varying reliability are available in these publications as well as in Edgar J. Banks, "Eight Oracular Responses to Esarhaddon," 267–77; A. Delattre, "The Oracles Given in Favour of Esarhaddon," 25–31; Friedrich Schmidtke, *Asarhaddons Statthalterschaft in Babylonien*, 115–121; Andre Parrot and Jean Nougayrol, "Asarhaddon et Naqia sur un Bronze du Louvre," 158, n. 6; Robert Biggs, "Oracles Concerning Esarhaddon," *ANET*, p. 605; and Manfred Weippert, "Assyrische Prophetien der Zeit Asarhaddons und Assurbanipals," 71–145.

"Religio-Political" Texts

Several texts discussed in the final chapter, in particular the "Sun of Sargon" and the so-called "Ordeal of Marduk" texts, are as much religious and political in their implications. Space precludes a full analysis of their complexities, but the problems they present are discussed briefly in the text where they are significant for the argument.

Conclusion

Even from this brief survey, it is apparent that the documentary evidence for Esarhaddon's reign provides a wide variety of texts, many of them still not well understood — in embarrassment of riches. Even with the extensive work done on Esarhaddon's texts in recent years, it will be some time before reliable modern editions are available for all of them, and even Sargon's Letter will have untangled some of the many vexing problems the texts present. The recent publications of major text groups from Esarhaddon's reign by Borger, Reade, Dietrich, Watanabe and Wiseman, however, make it possible for us to begin at last a reconstruction of Esarhaddon's reign and of the Assyrian empire in its final years of power.

APPENDIX TWO

The Dating of the Inscriptions

TO TRACE THE CHANGES IN ESARHADDON'S BABYLONIAN policy over time, we must first establish the date of each of his inscriptions, so far as the evidence permits. The simplest place to begin is with the inscriptions that were dated by the scribes who copied them. Nineteen of the copies of Esarhaddon's various building inscriptions and three copies of his vassal treaties conclude with year-dates which are still intact (month and date, if included, are noted in parentheses):

Dated Esarhaddon Inscriptions

681 Bab. 1 (Ajaru), Bab. A1, Bab. C2, Bab. 13
679 Ass. A4 (Simanu, day broken)
678 none
677 Nin. 6 (Ululu 20)
676 Nin. B7 (Ajaru 22), Kleh. A5 (Abu 21), Kleh. A9 (Ululu 30), Kleh. A10 (Ululu 10), Kleh. A14
675 none
674 none
673 Nin. A1 (Addaru), Nin. A26 (Addaru), Nin. A2, Nin. A16 and Nin. A31 (Pet-hibi)
672 Nin. A28 (Nisannu), Kleh. A7 (Ajaru 18), Erb. A (Ajaru 18), Kleh. A1 (Abu 21), VT 36C (Ajaru 16), VT 34B and 34D (Aru 28)

One additional copy of the Nin. A inscription is said to be dated, but has not yet been published, nor has its date been reported (Lambert and Millard, *Catalogue*, 25). In addition, several inscriptions not included in the list have partially broken dates in which only the month survives. Assur A1 is dated only by day and month (196bl[?]) of Da'uzu).

The modern (Julian calendar) equivalents of the Assyrian months in the list above are as follows: Nisannu, Mar./Apr.; Ajaru, Apr./May; Simanu, May/Jun.; Abu, Jul./Aug.; Ululu, Aug./Sept. For a discussion of the problems involved in converting Assyrian dates to Julian dates and for a table for converting dates in the reign of Esarhaddon, see Parpola, *Letters*, IIb, Appendix A, Assyrian Chronology, 681–648 BC. The month Pet-hibi was not commonly used in Assyrian dating, and its Julian calendar equivalent is uncertain. Parpola (*Letters*, IIb, 186–187) notes that it refers in letters to at least two different months. In Esarhaddon's Bab. A, B, and C (Ep. 13), however, it is mentioned

in a passage describing astronomical events which occurred over a brief period of time, probably in the space of two months, the first of which is named as Simanu, making Téc-baba, the second month in this passage, equivalent in this case to Dumuzu, or June–July.

Since the events reported in the dated inscriptions are consistent with the dates assigned to those texts by their scribes, and since there would seem to be little reason for scribes to have falsified the dates (except perhaps in the special case of the Babylon inscriptions, which are discussed below), the dates in the list above can probably be accepted as reasonably accurate.

The dated Babylon inscriptions, however, pose a special problem. In dating them, Esarhaddon's scribes used a Babylonian dating formula, written with the logograms MU SAG NAM LUGAL LA, literally meaning "year of the beginning of kingship". This dating formula was used in Babylonian inscriptions as the term for the accession year of a king, the period between his predecessor's death and his own formal installation as king at the beginning of the following year, which fell in mid-March.

Esarhaddon's full-length Babylon inscriptions (Borger's Babylon A–G texts), however, were almost certainly not written in his accession year, despite the use of this dating formula on several of them. This is particularly clear in the case of Babylon G, which is dated to the month Ajaru (April–May) of the MU SAG NAM LUGAL LA, a month just included in Esarhaddon's brief accession year, which began with his father's death in the month Tebetu (Dec.–Jan.), almost at the end of the Assyrian year, and long after Ajaru had passed.

Lahmor argues that the other three dated Babylon texts were not written in the accession year either, and suggests that the dating formula used in the Esarhaddon Babylon inscriptions had no chronological validity. He begins by pointing out (in *Royal Inscriptions*, *NABU* 1993, 13–25, esp. p. 22) a repeating pattern in Mesopotamian royal inscriptions, in which events which can be shown to have occurred at a later date are nevertheless attributed to the first year of a king's reign, a device which Lahmor suggests was intended to enhance the king's image as an energetic and successful ruler from the outset. Lahmor suggests that the Babylon texts of Esarhaddon which have accession year dates are an example of this pattern, pointing out (following Grayson in *History, Historiography and Interpretation*, 85–87) that at least one of these inscriptions, Babylon E, refers to the return of plundered gods from Elam, an event which the Babylonian Chronicles date to Esarhaddon's seventh year of reign, 674. It seems clear that Babylon G, like Babylon G, cannot be dated to the accession year, despite its MU SAG NAM LUGAL LA formula. Lahmor therefore argues that all four dated Babylon texts were employing the accession-year dating formula as a rhetorical device to enhance the king's image, rather than as an indication of actual date.

Practical considerations make it very likely in any case that none of the texts, including the four dated ones, were written in Esarhaddon's accession year. The Babylonian Chronicles report that Esarhaddon took some time to gain control of Assyria after his father's death, quelling the civil war and ascending the throne until the eighteenth (or perhaps the twenty-eighth) of Addaru (Feb.–Mar.), so that he actually held full control of Assyria for no more than the last twelve days of his accession year. It seems most unlikely that the publication of a building inscription, even as laconic and preliminary an inscription as Babylon G, would have taken place in the brief period.

Since it is clear that the Babylon inscriptions' accession year dates cannot be taken at face value, it seems best to disregard them at least initially, and approach the problem of dating the Babylon A–G inscriptions by examining them for other evidence of the period or periods in which they were written. In the case of Babylon G, as we saw, its reference in I p. 36 to the return of gods' statues requires a date of 678 or later, despite the MU.5.KÁM NAM LUGAL-TI A date on one copy of the text. The detailed description the text offers of the final stages of building and outfitting the temple of Babylon (I p. 36) adds additional corroboration to this relatively late date, since it suggests that the text was written to commemorate a fairly advanced stage in the building project. Babylon F, although badly fragmented and with no date surviving, contains the same description of the events of 678, and should thus be assigned a similar date, sometime late in the reign. Babylon E, although it does not mention the return of gods' statues in 678, does include a more succinct but similar account of the final outfitting of the temple as that at Babylon G (I p. 33), suggesting that it, too, was composed at about the same time, as the temple refurbishing project neared completion, probably in 674 or later—again, despite the accession year date on one copy of this text.

In contrast, an examination of the events described on Babylon A (one copy of which has the accession year date) and Babylon B (undated) suggests that they are probably both genuinely early texts, since both of them focus on the planning and foundation-laying stages of the project, and unlike Babylon G, D, and E, offer only cursory accounts of the later stages of the temple's reconstruction, perhaps not fully planned at the point when Babylon A and B were composed. Although both texts were probably written early in the reign, their dates of composition must be placed after October 670 because both include an account (I p. 13) of movements of the planet Jupiter which occurred at that time (Parpola, private communication, 24 February 1977).

Babylon D, like Babylon A and B, focuses on preparations for the reconstruction of temple and city, and like those texts, deals with the actual rebuilding of the temple and city in a cursory fashion. This focus on preliminaries suggests that Babylon D also should be dated to the first two or three years of the reign. This early date for all three texts rests on the hypothesis that the

rebuilding of Babylon was actually begun, or at the very least, announced, in the first two or three years of the reign, which seems likely, since there were clear advantages to Esarhaddon in making some visible progress on the project as early in the reign as possible, and little advantage in delaying a project that was central to his conciliatory Babylonian policy.

Although five of the inscriptions, Babylon A, B, C, D, and F, refer to a year of brickmaking preceding the actual building (p. 22), this is of dubious value as chronological evidence, the phrase *ina*, which also appears in Esarhaddon's account of rebuilding the Aššur temple to Aššur [Assur A, iv 41–v 1–2], should probably be understood in all six texts as a literary topos echoing the descriptions in the *Enuma elish* myth, viz. one of the first constructions of the temple Esagila by the gods.

The dating of Babylon G is a special case to which we must now return. Unlike the other dated Babylon inscriptions, Babylon G uses not only the formula MU.NAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA, but specifies a month as well, the month Ajaru, as if in this case the scribes were using the accession year phrase as a genuine indication of date, rather than as a rhetorical device. The Babylon G inscription appears to be the earliest account of Babylon's reconstruction, offering the briefest description of actual building and focusing its attention on the preliminary task of draining the still partially flooded city. A date in the accession year, 681, is not possible, however, because the month Ajaru is included in the text's date, as we saw earlier. Deportaloffers a plausible solution to the puzzle, suggesting (in David Owen and Kazuko Watanabe, "Eine Neubabylonische Gerichtsurkunde," 47–48) that Esarhaddon's Assyrian scribes, although adopting a Babylonian dating formula here, were using it unconventionally: he suggests that MU.NAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA did not mean "accession year" in these inscriptions, in the Babylonian fashion, but was instead used in its literal sense to mean "first year of kingship," referring to Esarhaddon's first full year as king, the year 680—a date which fits the evidence admirably.

To summarize, Esarhaddon's Babylon texts seem to cluster in two periods. The first group of texts was written at the very beginning of the reign, with Babylon G composed in the second month of 680, Babylon D written shortly thereafter, perhaps in the same year, and Babylon A and B following in the first two or three years of the reign. The second group of texts, consisting of Babylon C, E, and F, was composed several years afterwards when the project of rebuilding the temple and city was approaching completion, in 674 or shortly thereafter. Since none of the texts refer to the appointment of a crown prince for Babylon, a major event that one would expect to have been mentioned had it already taken place, it seems likely that all of the Babylon A–G texts were composed before 672 at the latest, when the appointment of the crown prince occurred. (Cogan, in Tadmor and Weinfeld, ed., *History, Historiography and Interpretation*, 85–87, has independently dated the Babylon in-

scriptions using the same principle of analyzing the detail with which each text describes the various stages of building, he comes to similar conclusions but posits a more even distribution of inscriptions throughout the years from 680 to 674 [illegible]

Aside from the problematic accession year dates on Babylon inscriptions, the dates on Esarhaddon's inscriptions should probably be accepted as reliable. Many of the remaining inscriptions, although undated, can be assigned approximate dates on internal evidence by linking references in the texts to datable events in the reign. The dated list of events in Esarhaddon's reign in the various Babylonian Chronicles, together with the date of Esarhaddon's vassal treaties, provides us with a basic chronological framework for dating these texts, summarized below:

680-669 20 Kislev (Dec./Jan.): Nineveh destroyed (cf. 2 Kings 19:36). Mid-[illegible] in Assyria (cf. 18 or 28 Adar): Esarhaddon enters Nineveh (aka Assur)

669-671 Uprising in Babylonia led by Nabû-zêr-kitti-lîšir; collapse (Tebet–Aug./Sept.); gods' statues returned (cf. 2 and 3 Esarhaddon)

671-670 Assur taken. Slaughter of Arabians

670-669 Governor of Sippar and Nana-temple of Bît-Takkari captured in Assyria

669-[illegible] Sidon captured and sacked

669-[illegible] Bazu captured. King of Sidon (Sennacherib?)

669-671 Elamite raid on Sippar. Assyrian [illegible] in Mylitta. Assyrian possession of Sippar and capture of Bît-Dakkuri. Reported to Assyria (cf. [illegible])

671-[illegible] Assyria defeated in Egypt. Retreat and sack of Akkad (returned from Elam)

671-[illegible] Kurigalzu-[illegible] Sidon sacked by Assyria

671-[illegible] Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šumu-ukin proclaimed heir to thrones of Assyria and Babylonia

671-[illegible] Assyria conquers Egypt

670-[illegible] Assyrian officials put to death

669-668 Esarhaddon dies (returns to Egypt). Assurbanipal becomes king of Assyria. Marduk returned to Babylon

Using this information, we can draw up the following list of Esarhaddon inscriptions arranged in chronological order. The evidence for dating each text is indicated in parentheses. Texts of somewhat uncertain date are preceded by a question mark.

682-681 ?Nin I, Esar. (when apparent, then before death of Senn. in Jan. 681)

680? Bab. (c. dated). Ayyar?

680 or shortly after

Bab. A (earlier stages of work on Esagila, but after Jupiter omens of late 681 B.C.), 680

Babylon B (work on Esagila, same period)

Babylon D (work on Esagila, same period)

671 Ass. A (dated: day X, Simanu)

670 (dated but still unpublished entry inscription for Bît-Šamaš-palace)

677 Nin. Undated. Ukeln 20.

677 or after

Ass. E3 Sidon

Nin. D3 Sidon (probable date to 671 years for rule in Egypt on row)

?Nin. E1 Incorporation in Assurbanipal's Ibaqesi purposes

676 Nin. B7 dated Years 22

Khorsabad Assurbanipal Year 2

Khorsabad Assurbanipal Undated Uhlemann

Khorsabad Assurbanipal Undated Uhlemann

671 or after

Nin. C1 refer to Basa Sect. 671, stress revolt in Egypt

675 [illegible]

674 or later

Babylon Esp. 16, return of Assurbanipal Uhlemann

Babylon [illegible]

?Babylon Esp. 16, Sachse mentions in Babylon C refer to completion of Esagila.

673 Ass. E [illegible] Assurbanipal's [illegible]

Nin. A2 dated Pecirka [illegible]

Nin. A10 dated Pecirka

Nin. A1 dated Addition

Nin. A3 dated Addition

672 or later

Cyl. Sidon

Greater with Hybrid [illegible] Sidon and 677, but not mentioned in Nin. B [676]

Inscription in Nin. A [673]

672 Nin. A? dated Sennacherib

Assur Ist. dated Years 16 and 18

Khorsabad Dated Years 18

Tarbisu A dated Years 18

Khorsabad Undated Abu 3

672 or later

Ass. E Assurbanipal's heir

Nin. E Assurbanipal's Sign

?AsBbC Šamaš-šumu-ukin given to Marduk to strengthen acceptance of heir in Babylon Priests mentioned in completed temple [Esagila?]

671 or later

Ass. H E conquered Egypt

Khorsabad Dated conquered in Egypt

Nin. F conquest of Egypt described

Nin. P inscribed on vase dedicated as booty from Egypt

Bab. B, F E conquered in Egypt

AsBbA E conquered in Egypt (obv. 28–9)

AsBbE conquest of Egypt (obv. 26–7)

Senk. booty from Egypt (obv. 25 and 28)

Mnin. A, F E conquered in Egypt, (obv. 16–)

?Mons. B strong similarity to Mum. A
Mum. [illegible] of Egypt [illegible]
Tre. B describes army's journey to Egypt
?AsbbF describes procession returning Marduk's statue [illegible] in AsbbH. [671 or later]
?AsbbH describes procession returning Marduk's statue above

These are the inscriptions to which years can be assigned with some degree of confidence. We can also draw more tentative conclusions about the period of compositions of some of the remaining inscriptions. It is possible to assign tentative dates to Uruk A–C and to Nineveh A, for example, since the texts are closely related and the reconstruction of the Uruk temple described in the Uruk texts almost certainly occurred before the return of the statue of the goddess Ištar-arnemesis to that temple, first mentioned in AsbbA (671 or later). Since neither the statue's return nor the repair of the temple are mentioned in the long historical summary of Nineveh A (earliest exemplar dated 670), where some reference to the project might reasonably be expected, we can probably place the composition of all the Uruk texts between 670 and not long after 671. Since Nineveh A is virtually identical to Uruk A, it seems likely that it was composed at roughly the same time. In both cases the several inscriptions commemorating the temple rebuilding were probably composed over a span of time, each new composition marking the beginning or completion of a different stage of the work. There is no clear indication, however, of the order in which the various parts of the project were undertaken, and hence no indication of the order in which the various texts were composed.

In our chronological framework, information derived from an analysis of certain letters from Esarhaddon's reign, it is possible to propose a date for Bes. A as well. This date is, however, somewhat more conjectural than dates resting on material derived from the Babylonian Chronicles because the dating depends on conclusions drawn from arguments linking several letters and from deductions about the relationship of those letters to the reconstruction of the temple of Gula at Borsippa, which Bes. A commemorates but which is never explicitly mentioned in any of these letters. Parpola argues plausibly in his commentary on the letters that LAS 57, 88, 276 and 281 all describe the construction of a stara for the god Nabû, judging from LAS 281, the god Nabû of Borsippa, whose affairs are discussed at length there. References in the four letters to the crown prince and to boats from Egypt place them in the time period between 672 and 670, as Parpola argues. Since the stara they discuss was probably a gift for Nabû intended to accompany the reopening of the refurbished temple, the dates of the letters suggest that the Borsippa temple project was at least planned in detail and probably already underway by 672 or a little later. The Bes. A inscription commemorating the project can thus be tentatively assigned to this period.

No firm conclusion can be drawn about the date of composition of Frags. A–D, however, despite datable events mentioned in them, because we have no way to establish the final cut-off point for their reports of events. Frag. A, for example, mentions a series of events which occurred in the period from late 681 to about 677, but it might well have reported on later events in the concluding sections of the text, which are now completely broken away.

In addition to the royal inscriptions, many of the letters from Esarhaddon's reign are datable. In *Letters*, Ilb Parpola presents the often intricate network of decisions involved in his dating of many of the letters that he assigns to Esarhaddon's reign. I have for the most part followed his dating here, in the few cases where my conclusions differ from his, my reasons for proposing a different date are presented in the footnote accompanying the discussion. Dated economic texts and legal texts from Esarhaddon's reign offer additional information about his years of rule but have for the most part not proven significant for my discussion here. In the few cases where they are mentioned, their dating is dealt with in the text or accompanying footnotes.

APPENDIX THREE

Texts Published after Borger's Edition

SINCE BORGER'S EDITION OF THE ESARHADDON INSCRIPTIONS appeared in 1956, several more ancient examplars of the texts published there (some largely intact, some surviving only as fragments) have been identified and published, and several previously unknown Esarhaddon inscriptions have been discovered in the course of excavations at Nippur, Nineveh, and Calah and during research in museum collections. In addition, a number of fragments have been identified as missing parts of previously known Esarhaddon texts and joined to them, in some cases significantly expanding our understanding of those documents. This appendix is intended as a supplement to Borger's edition, providing a list of the new texts, fragments, and joins, together with a brief note about where each text has been published or described. To save space, the references are in abbreviated form; for complete citations, see the bibliography. The list of new material follows the order of text groups in Borger's edition; new documents have been assigned labels and numbers following Borger's system of labeling. Joined texts are marked with a "+" sign.

After the publication of some of the new texts, Borger published revised editions incorporating the new material that had by then become available. These were published in three articles: "Die Inschriften Asarhaddons (AfO Beiheft 9), Nachträge und Verbesserungen," *AfO*, 18 (1957–58): 113–118; "Der Neue Asarhaddon-Text Aft 18, S. 314 ff.," *AfO*, 19 (1959–60): 148; and "Zu den Asarhaddon-Texten aus Babel," *BiOr*, 21 (1964): 143–146. Some time later, improved copies of several Esarhaddon Babylon inscriptions in the British Museum, prepared years earlier by J. Pinches, were at last published as part of the volume *CT*, 44 (London: 1966); the Esarhaddon texts published there include Bab. A1 (#3), Bab. C1 (#4), Bab. C2 (#5), Bab. E1 (#6), Bab. E2 (#7), Bab. E3 (#8), and Bab. F (#9). Of these, only the text completing Bab. C (#5, part I) had been unknown to Borger.

List of New Materials

Assur A6: VAT 9642, unpublished, tablet texts III 32–IV 22 and V 30–VI 13, variants and descript., Borger, *AfO*, 18 (1957–58): 113.

Assur E: Assur 2[illegible] (Photo Ass 6554), photo only survives, 1[illegible] ff., on building of Ešara by Esar., translit. and transla., Borger, *AfO*, 18 (1957–58): 173–174.

Babylon A4 BM 120132, part of 7 faces of solid octagonal prism. Millard, *AfO* 24 (1973) 117.

Babylon A5 BM 132244, top and 4 faces, solid octagonal prism. Millard, *AfO* 24 (1973) 117–118. (Now joined to Babylon C1, see below, p. 180.)

Babylon A6 BM 90153, 4 sides from top of octag. prism. Cogan, *JAOS* 89 (1969) 75 (no copy or transln.).

Babylon B2 BM 82-3-23, 55, frag. from 1 face of tablet, 12 ll. Millard, *AfO* 24 (1973) 120 and pl. 34.

Babylon C2 BM 78332, frag. of prism, joins Berger's Babylon C2. BM 78332 inscribed in, dates with Ep. 1 and mentions Ep. 4 [illegible]. Unpublished, see Pinches, *PSBA* 44 (1922) 8.

Babylon E6 Ass 14673, 16 ll. of prism, joins at least Babylon E6 (completing col. 1, ll. 1–6, and ll. 10–16). Nougayrol, *AfO* 19 (1959) 314–315.

Babylon G1 BM 42028, [illegible] prism. Meissner, *ZA* 21 (1908) 118 and pl. 34.

Babylon K6 BM 48000, sp. 2 ll., prism. C. H. F. Walker, *CT* 51, no. 70, cited in Brinkman, *OrNS* 46 (1977) p. 48.

Kalah A7 ND 2156 S, [illegible] prism. Mallowan, *Iraq* 24 (1962) 116–118.

Kalah A8 ND 2007, ND 2171, ND 2172, 4 sides, joins, in quarters of tile, [illegible] (1). Shalmaneser. Normal, unpublished. Mallowan, *Iraq* 24 (1962) 116–128.

Kalah A12 ND 2156 [illegible], 3 small frags. of 2 cols. [illegible] in Nimrud Wreckage, *Iraq* 26 (1964) 122 and pl. [illegible].

Kalah A14 ND 2162, 2 cols. [illegible] tile, [illegible] of text on ND 2 in (1). Shalmaneser. Normal, unpublished, described in Mallowan, Normal, II, p. [illegible].

Kalah A17 ND 2003, 2 cols. frag., joined to ND 2002, described, dated to 6-2?, unpublished, ref. Mallowan, Normal, II, p. 438 [illegible].

Kalah E1 ND 1500, ND 1501, ND 1505, 3 frags. joins 2 or 3 cols. [illegible] text, on Nabû and Tashmetum-temple, Nabû temple-complex. Normal. Wreckage, *Iraq* 26 (1964) 122–123 and pl. [illegible].

Kalah E2 2 copies of gateway inscrip. on stone of south wall flanking portal in gate H, [illegible] of E. Shalmaneser. Normal, unpublished, photos in E. Bresciani, Gli Scavi di Nimrud, Istituto Orientale, Napoli, 1964, fig. 5, p. 16, description in Mallowan, Normal, II, pp. 426–427.

Kalah Brick Inscriptions see Nimrud Bricks.

Nineveh A25 [illegible] BM 79235, prism, part of base and 2 faces, unpublished, ref. Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, 25.

Nineveh A26 BM 122872+122873+[illegible], prism, dated 673. Cogan, *JAOS* 91 (1971) 72.

Nineveh A27 BM 138884, small prism frag., [illegible] of text, described by Cogan, *JAOS* 91 (1971) 72.

Nineveh A28 BM 127874+[illegible], 535, prism frag., part of base and 2 faces, dated, unpublished, ref. Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, 35.

Nineveh A29 (BM 12968) = 1929-10-12, 67, prism, parts of 2 texts, unpubl., ref. Lambert and Millard, cat. 40.

Nineveh A30 (BM 128068) = 1929-10-12, 723, prism, duk. from [illegible], unpubl., ref. Lambert and Millard, Cat. 40.

Nineveh A31 (BM 128221+128222+128232, sum of three frags.) = Gurney, AfO 21, 1964–65, 72–73.

Nineveh A32 = A31, joined by Gurney, AfO 21, 1964–65, 73.

Nineveh A32 (join of BM 128269+128272+128280) = Gurney, AfO 21, 1964–65, 73.

Nineveh A34 (BM 128322) = 1932-12-10, 79, prism, part of text [illegible], unpubl., Lambert and Millard, cat. 46.

Nineveh A35 (BM 104408) = 1932-12-12, 463, prism, part of [illegible] and one text, unpubl., ref. Lambert and Millard, cat. [illegible].

Nineveh B1 = Complete prism (duk. title, based on southern platform, East gate), a connected Neo-Assyrian pub. by A. Heidel, Lucas A. Ch., Oppenheim, Sumer 12, 1956, 171–92, analysis 173–92, for translation: Borger, Luw. Studien, 129.

Nineveh B4 = B3, joined by Gurney, AfO [illegible].

Nineveh B12 (1932-12-12, 460 = BM 104404) = one prism, part of Esar. and Ashur. inscr., unpubl., ref. Lambert and Millard, cat. [illegible].

Pondés, Nineveh B1 (text, based on Sand. prism, pub. c. 2 lines, cuneiform, with seals, from Mercier, Musée du Vieux-Kaiserlandes, pub. Bergen, 1968, 38, 2957, 38, 211–13.

Nineveh L (join of [illegible] frag. 1932-12-10, 1 to 1932-12-12, 1 = Gurney, AfO 21, 1964–65, 73–[illegible]), photos, transl. and remarks, Gurney, AfO 21, 1964–65, 73–[illegible].

Nineveh M = two more copies on bricks, found at Nineveh, Walker, Brit. Inscrip. 41 no. 33, and p. 129.

Nineveh O = Brick inscrip. from Nineveh, Walker, *Brit. Inscrip.* 129.

Nippur Ass B (CBS 15, frag. of barrel cyl., 4 lines, found by R. D. Biggs, AS 7, Chicago 1968, no. 40, p. 13, and p. 95, no. 40).

Nippur A and B = Inscrip. of stone-lined barrel cyls., transl. in translation of Nippur prism, published as partial composite text by A. George, RA 77, 1983, 133–41, with copies.

Nippur B (CBS 15, new copy 1912, of Nippur B, found at Nippur, contains Nippur A and B as separate texts), transl. *K* 1, 68–[illegible] 1974, 94.

Dalton D = 2 copies on bricks from Nineveh, Walker, Brit. Inscrip. 129.

Uruk text, perhaps Esar., originally pub. as earlier text, Falkenstein, *LKU* and dictionary manuals, and commentary by Borger, Luw. St. 1967, 38, 129–137.

Shikaki-i Girgal Inscrip., perhaps Esar., mentioned on Gift text, in Zagros Mts. on the southwestern slopes of the Kuhe Kuh Grassmann and Levine, Iranica Antiqua 11, 1975, 29, 38.

Text related to Gbr. and to 2nd Esg. campaign, K. 3002, descrip. by Labat, Annales, 1974, 64, 65–67.

Vassal Treaties. Frags. of several treaties regulating succession, found in Ft. Shalmaneser, Nimrud, Wiseman, Vassal-Treaties.

Accession Treaty of Esarhaddon. A frags. of one tablet fr. Nineveh. Esar named as "lord" rather than king. Parpola, *JCS*, 39 (1987): 170 ff. and Pl. 5.

Oath of Loyalty to Esarhaddon. Rm 93-5-9, 22, small frag. of left half of clay tablet. Parpola, *JCS*, 39 (1987): 174 f.

Inscriptions related to Esar's Vassal Treaties. 2 frags. of a 2-col. clay tablet, probably from Nippur. Grayson, *RLA*, 6 (1983): 135 ff. and 153 ff. joins proposed by Parpola and Watanabe, SAA II, p. 77.

Fieldstone Inscriptions. [illegible] inscrip. of Esar's wife. Lambert, *RLA*, 6 (1983): [illegible]

Esarhaddon Seal Impressions from Calah. Barbara Parker, *Iraq*, 24 (1962): 28 and 30.

Egyptian Statues from Esarhaddon's Palace. Nineveh. 5 life-sized statues of pharaoh Tahrqa from restoration contained in Esarh. palace. Seele, Vatnes, 2 with hieroglyphic inscriptions. Woodhouse, 104, 17. Pieper, 228 transl. W. K. Simpson, Source, 10 (1954): 193–194 and Source, 11 (1955): 11–16.

Inscribed Bronze Plaque. BM 20285, purchased, no provenance, bowcheld of Assyrian king and woman with lions. Nagel, [illegible] inscrip. similar to part of AsBM I and AsBM [illegible], probably Esarh. Parpola and Nougayrol, Syria, 61 (1984): 117–124.

Texts related to Egyptian Campaigns of Esarh. K. 8082, 29–37, 1–6, 30–37, 19–15, and 11–5–9, 18, descrip., Luckenbill, [illegible], 2, 1–6, 20.

APPENDIX FOUR

Document List with Provenance and Description

IT IS OFTEN HELPFUL TO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THE object on which a text was inscribed or the place where it was discovered, but physical descriptions of texts and information about their place of discovery are not always readily accessible. Borger's notes on the inscriptions included in *Babel*, for example, do not consistently describe the physical appearance of texts or record their provenance, making it necessary to search through earlier publications for whatever information they may offer. This appendix is intended to supplement the notes and comments on each group of Esarhaddon's inscriptions in Borger's edition by providing a list giving the provenance of each copy of Esarhaddon's royal inscriptions and a description of the object on which that copy of the text was inscribed. The list includes all of the Esarhaddon inscriptions published by Borger except those he indicates are of doubtful attribution to Esarhaddon, as well as the royal inscriptions and treaty texts of Esarhaddon and of his wife and mother published since Borger's edition.

The list is based on published information, supplemented in some cases by information provided to me from the records of the British Museum by Julian E. Reade and from the files of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia project by Louis D. Levine. To both of them my heartfelt thanks. "JER" and "LDL" in the entries below refer to their informal reports or letters to me. I have tried to record their information faithfully, but any errors and confusions that may have crept in are my own. Reade comments that the provenances he reports are based on British Museum departmental records without reference to the contents of the texts and should be treated with some reservations. The reader should be aware that I have not had the opportunity to verify the published descriptions of the texts through personal examination. The one exception is the Esarhaddon inscriptions held by Yale University, which I was able to examine personally, thanks to the courtesy of the Yale Babylonian Collection and its curator, William W. Hallo.

The sources of my information are noted in brackets or parentheses after each entry; see the bibliography for complete citations. "B" refers to Borger's edition of the Esarhaddon inscriptions, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*, AfO Beiheft 9 (Graz, 1956). "Bezold, Cat." refers to Carl Bezold,

Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum (London, 1889–1896). "King, Cat" refers to W. King, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection, etc. Supplement* (London, 1914), and "Lambert and Millard, *Cat*" to W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection, etc. Second Supplement* (London, 1968). In cases where published accounts supplement one another or appear contradictory, I have recorded the information offered by each. In the case of texts recorded as found in the area of the palace of Assurbanipal II at Nineveh, located between the Nabu and Ishtar temples, it is not the location in which the tablets were discovered that is debated, but the existence of such a palace in that area.

Texts are listed in the order in which they appear in Borger's *Asarh.* and with the identifying labels Borger assigned them there. New texts not known at the time of Borger's edition, and new examples of texts published earlier by Borger, are marked with a star and assigned a name and number in accordance with Borger's system. Information about where each text was originally published can be found in the notes preceding each text group in Borger's edition or, for texts published after Borger's edition, in the list of texts which appears here as Appendix III.

Each entry begins with the name assigned the text by Borger. Texts comprised of fragments now recognized as parts of a single copy of a particular text are marked by a "+" to indicate joins. A description of the object on which the text is inscribed appears to the right of its name, along with any comments about the text, such as whether a photo taken at the time of its excavation is available in museum collections. Below the text's name is a list of each of the pieces of which the text is comprised, identified by the object's museum inventory number, or, failing that, its excavation number or museum acquisition number. Any additional identifying numbers for that piece are listed to its right along with information about where the piece was discovered. Merkes, Kast, and Salu are sections of the ruins of Babylon, and Hillah is the city nearest those ruins. The comment "no prov" means that I have found no information about the place where the piece was discovered.

A few of the conventions used in the list may require explanation. See the list below for the characteristic patterns of each museum's acquisition and inventory numbers. British Museum inventory numbers in some cases also provide clues to when, where or how a particular object was acquired. An object identified by a British Museum registration number in the form 88-5-12, 14, for example, is the fourteenth object formally acquisitioned by the British Museum on (or in some cases, before) the 12th of May, 1888. Objects whose identification number begins with the letter "K" are part of a group of objects belonging to the British Museum, most (but not all) of which were discovered at Kouyunjik, one of the two groups of ruins which together

comprise the remains of ancient Nineveh. Initials introducing British Museum registration numbers refer in some cases to the purchaser of the object (e.g., "Bu" refers to purchases made by E. A. Wallis Budge on behalf of the British Museum) and in other cases to the archaeologist in charge of the excavation during which the object in question was discovered (e.g., "TM" identifies objects discovered during the Nineveh excavations conducted by Thompson and Mallowan). These notations are helpful indicators of probable provenance, but have sometimes proven to be inaccurate and should be used with caution. Some texts are further identified by a number assigned the text by its excavators at the time of its discovery; identifying numbers beginning with "ND," for example, were assigned to texts excavated at Nimrud (ancient Calah).

The following is a key to abbreviations and abbreviations used in the museum numbers and excavation numbers of Esarhaddon inscriptions:

a. Texts in the British Museum, London
   - BM — British Museum
   - Bu — Budge
   - DT — Dalton Tablets
   - K — Kouyunjik (part of ruins of Nineveh)
   - Ko — Kong
   - Rm — Rassam
   - Sm — Smith
   - Sp — Spencer
   - TM — Thompson and Mallowan
     [illegible] Note only, such as Sm [illegible] Museum
     British Museum [illegible]
b. Excavation Numbers
   - A-[illegible] — Texts excavated at Assur
   - ND — Texts excavated at Nimrud (Calah)
   - Uruk — Texts excavated at Uruk
   - [illegible] — Inscriptions from Babylon excavations
   - N-[illegible] — Texts excavated at Nippur
c. Friedrich Schulze-Gallera, Jena
   - JS — Texts Professor Friedrich Schulze
d. Iraq Museum, Baghdad
   - IM — Iraq Museum
e. Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva
   - MAH — Musée d'Art et d'Histoire
f. Musée du Louvre, Paris
   - AO — Département des Antiquités Orientales
g. Museum of the Ancient Orient, Istanbul
   - Is — Istanbul
h. Oriental Institute, U. of Chicago, Chicago
   - Oriental Institute

i University Museum, U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
  CBS Catalogue of the Babylonian Section
j Staatliche Museen, Berlin
  VA Vorderasiatisches Museum
  VAT Vorderasiatische Abteilung Tontafel
k Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut
  NBC New Babylonian Collection
  YBC Yale Babylonian Collection
  Peabody Peabody Museum, Yale University

The provenance and description list below reflects the course of my own investigations and is far from exhaustive. I hope its publication will nevertheless make research on Esarhaddon's reign easier for others and will encourage them to fill in the gaps. I would be grateful to hear of additions and corrections.

List of Texts with Description and Provenance

Assur A1+	Part of six-sided prism (*KAH* II, p. 82, Date, 1900?) DeGiuseppe (B), p. 47
VA10530	No prov.
VA9411	Assur, outer corner of inner wall, at (A)06 (*KAH* II, #126, p. 109)
CM 12-22-5	No prov.
Assur A2+	Piece of clay tablet (B), p. 8. Photo=(B) *SocAssur* (B), p. 1; Istanbul Mus. 1191
Assur 1823(a+b)	Assur, at (A)81, "gateway Assur temple enclosure, in paving (B), p. 1 and Andrae, *Wunder Assur* city plan
Assur A3	Prism fragment (*AfO* 18 II, p. 221)
VA7513	Assur 1763, Assur (*KAH* I, no. 51), a part of foundation, Assur temple, in group of prisms and cylinders (Pedersen, II, p. 13, n. 9)
Assur A4	Frag., 6-sided prism (*KAH* II, p. 82, #127), dated Sin-šumu, tablet broken, 674 (B), p. 6
VA7944	Assur 1996, Assur, "Ionidi Produce" (*KAH* II, no. 127, p. 109), Assur temple foundation, a part, in group of prisms and cylinders (Pedersen, II, p. 13, n. 9)
Assur A5	Prism frag., photo Assur 2069-20, Istanbul Mus. (B), p. 8, 1191
VA4428	Assur 3814, Assur, at (A)60 ("Sennacherib Palace" area) (B), p. 1
***Assur A6**	Clay tablet (Borger, *BiOr* 36), p. 113
VAT 9642	No prov., possibly join to VAT 11045 (Borger, *BiOr*, II, p. 18)
Assur B	Clay tablet (*KAH* II, no. 125, pp. 80-81), or, clay cylinder (Pedersen, II, p. 13, n. 9). Photo, Ass. 172 (Pedersen, II, p. 13, n. 9)
VAT 7511	Ass. 7943, Assur, in temple, at (C)51 (*KAH* II, p. 107, no. 125)

Assur C+	Joint by Borger, in Lambert, *Ad Sme.* p. 158, clay tablet, probably to ob., fragments of 4 extant, late Ass. script (Lambert, p. 159)
K 2048	Nineveh? (K. number)
K 8323	Nineveh? (K. number)
Assur D	On 2 alabaster vases, booty from Phoenicia (Andrae, *Wiedersehen*, p. 159).
——	Assur, palace of Assurnasirpal II (Andrae, *Wieder.*, p. 156)
Assur E	Stone blocks in wall (Andrae, *Feste*, pp. 177–179), photo BM 113864 (Borger, *HKL* II, p. 181)
——	Assur, on blocks in wall identified by excavators as part of *mašlû* (Andrae, *Feste*, pp. 177–79)
Assur F1	Piece of lapis lazuli (*AfO 48* II, p. 278 and *KAH* I, no. 53)
——	Assur (*KAH* I, no. 53)
Assur F2	Onyx amulet (*AfO 48* II, p. 278 and *KAH* I, no. 54)
——	Assur (*KAH* I, no. 54)
Assur F3	Small stone tablet with proportions (basalt?) at top (Gadd, *CAH* 36, p. 8)
BM 113864	1929,0412.613 (Assur? (JEB))
Assur F4	
——	No provn., no description
Assur G	Limestone blocks (Andrae, *Feste*, p. 177)
——	Assur, in wall identified by excavators as *mašlû* (Andrae, *Feste*, p. 177)
Assur H	Door socket stone, see drawing, Naumann, *MDOG*, 111, p. 20)
——	No provn.
Assur I	Irregular piece unworked gypsum (Naumann, *MDOG*, 111 1–2, p. 23)
Inv. 7864	Assur (Naumann, *MDOG* 111 1–2, p. 23)
***Assur J**	No description. Photo Ass. 6564
——	2156 B.C., Assur, sector H-III, in tilled soil of House N3 (hands of chief singers), with over 12 unbaked clay tablets (Borger, *AfO* 16, pp. 113–114; Pedersen, II, p. 37)
Babylon A1+	Sealed prism (B); Hammabi stamped into top and bottom (*CAH* 44, pl. IV), dated to first year of Ibbi (B), p. 29)
BM 78223	No provn., originally in private hands
Bo. 88-5-12, 77	Dilbat (B. Mis. records, Bedjo's handwriting (JEB))
Bo. 88-5-12, 79	Dilbat (B. Mis. records, Bedjo's handwriting (JEB))
Babylon A2	Grayish rounded prism, large 46 mm. long. Ass. script (Bowser, *RA* 56, p. 73)
MAH 15877	No provn.

Babylon A3	Photo only, photo show 2 sides (133 c), Assur 8008. Photo Pk 3[illegible] (133), B[illegible] p. 10.
VA 8436	Assur B[illegible] p. 1[illegible]
***Babylon A4**	Solid sealed prism. 7 faces preserved in part. Millard, *AfO* 24, p. 117
BM 92642	82-7-14, 4442. Sippar. JER
[Babylon A5: BM 112504 moved to Bab. C2, see below.]	
***Babylon A6**	Large or sealed prism. Only 3 sides preserved. Babylon Sippar. Assur. *AfO* 31 (1984), p. 56
BM 46651	Sippar. Find spot unknown. B. Mu. before 1850. JER
Babylon B1a (+? b)	Fragment of a large tablet or clear. Assur. Sippar. Reyold, *CM*, p. 50 and refs.
K [illegible]92	Possibly same as B[illegible] p. 9[illegible]. Nineveh? K[illegible]
K [illegible]	
***Babylon B2**	12-line, roug[illegible] Millard, *AfO* 24, p. 119 and p. 124. [illegible] Babylon B1 or *BRM* II, p. 16, and [illegible] Babylon B1. [illegible] p. 96, to a p[illegible] Babylon B1. B[illegible] p. 29[illegible] Babylon B1. [illegible]
BM 82-5-23, 63	Sippar. JER
Babylon C1+	Fragment of sealed prism, [illegible]. Mesopotamia and Bodg. *BRM* III, p. 7[illegible] BM 113204 was Bodgson. Bab. A5. Lost possibly [illegible]
BM 76232	Bu. 88-5-12, 7[illegible]. Hilah B. Mu. records, or Bodge's hand. JER
BM 113204	1[illegible]. JER
[illegible]	Sotheby's 8[illegible] 1[illegible] 1965, in private hands, possible join [illegible] combination. JER
***Babylon C2+**	Sealed prism. JER. Sippar. Tom [illegible] *BRM* II, p. 2[illegible]
BM 76321	Bu. 88-5-12, 2[illegible]. Hilah B. Mu. records, or to Bodge's hand. JER
BM 76222	Bu. 88-5-12, 3[illegible]. Hilah B. Mu. records, or Bodge's hand. JER
Babylon A2	Fragment of sealed prism. Fragm. *PBS*, XIII, no. 10, p. 46
CBS 1524	No pres.
Babylon D	Sealed prism. BM 40[illegible] of Sippar. *BRM* II, p. 242, more probable place of discovery. B. II. Sealed, carved on rep. *BRM* II, p. 242, n. 2
BM 90022	1[illegible]. B. p. 1[illegible]. Nineveh. JER 49
Babylon E1+	Two possibly sealed prisms. JER. Archiving Bab. scrap. JER.
BM 78225	Bu. 88-5-12, 80. B. p. 7[illegible]. Hilah B. Mu. records, or Bodge's hand. JER
[illegible]	Fragment of a prism, in Hiraoka Coll., Kurakuro, Japan, probable join. Tsukimoto. *BBM*, Supp. 1[illegible]

Babylon E2	Sealed prism [illegible]
BM 78749	Bu. 88-5-12, 103. [illegible] p. 10. Hilprecht II. Mur. records in Budge's hand. [illegible]
Babylon E3+	Sealed prism, [illegible] dated to "first year of Darius" (Nougayrol, 1970, 19, 314 ff.)
BM 78246	Bu. 88-5-12, 102. Hilprecht II. Mur. [illegible] in Budge's hand. [illegible]
Sp[illegible]	No prism. [illegible] Nougayrol
***Babylon E4**	Half of a sealed prism, [illegible] Assurbanipal (Dhorme, 1913, 24, p. [illegible]; [illegible] p. 75)
BM 42968	Sp. [illegible]. [illegible] No prism. Mitford, p. 318.
***Babylon E5**	
BM 34891	Sp. 2. 311. Babylon. Bruckman, 1903, [illegible] p. 98. [illegible] Walker, [illegible] 26
Babylon F	[illegible] prism. [illegible] p. 19, no. 5
BM 78247	Bu. 88-5-12, 102. Hilprecht II. Mur. records [illegible] in Budge's hand. [illegible]
***Babylon G+**	Sealed prism. King, [illegible] pp. 7–8. Dated April, [illegible] of Darius. [illegible] p. 27
BM 98972	Ki. [illegible] Nougayrol, [illegible] King, [illegible] pp. [illegible]
BM 123612	[illegible] Nougayrol, 1923, [illegible] Nougayrol, 1924, [illegible] Nougayrol, Landsberger and Michel, [illegible] p. 17
BM 123446	1929, no. 2. See [illegible] BM 123612. All three are parts of the same prism, [illegible] but no price is given. [illegible] BM 98672. Mitford, 1963, 24, p. 118.
Babylon H	Lapis lazuli cylinder seal with [illegible] inscription, [illegible] holding lightning bolts. Koldewey, *Temple*, pp. 45–46 and 48. Hrouda, [illegible] under Bust of Parthian-period standing bonds. Langdon, Koldewey, *Temple*, pp. 46–47 and p. 48.
Babylon I1	Square brick, [illegible] stamped inscription. Abdul-Karim, 1979. Wetzel and Weissbach, *Hauptwerk*, p. 38 and Koldewey, *MDOG*, 7, p. 22.
Inv. #84084	Babylon. In Langdon's [illegible] way to manuscript. Wetzel and Weissbach, *Hauptwerk*, p. 38.
Babylon I2	Square brick, [illegible], bitumen-stamped inscription. Wetzel and Weissbach, *Hauptwerk*, p. 38 and Koldewey, *MDOG*, 7, p. 22.
Inv. #81185	Babylon. Sahn south, at 1934. Wetzel and Weissbach, *Hauptwerk*, p. 38.
Babylon I3	Brick, broken, for 3 lines of bitumen-stamped inscription. Wetzel and Weissbach, *Hauptwerk*, p. 38 and Koldewey, *MDOG*, 7, p. 22.
—	Babylon. Wetzel and Weissbach, p. 38.

Babylon H?	Brick, text unpub., December (Allaiem (Weitzel and Weissbach, *Hauptbeil*, pp. [illegible]).
——	Babylon, Esagila, Room 32 paving (Weitzel and Weissbach, pp. [illegible]).
Babylon I or K?	Brick fragment (Weitzel and Weissbach, *Hauptbeil*, p. 86).
Inv. #41472	Photo 3283 I, Babylon, on Kasr (Weitzel and Weissbach, p. 86).
Babylon J1	Square brick, stamped (Weitzel and Weissbach, *Hauptbeil*, p. 38).
Inv. #[illegible]	Abklatsch no. 1913, Babylon, Sahn east, on gateway (Wetzel Ermenmarke enclosure, at [illegible] (Weitzel and Weissbach, p. 86).
Babylon J2	Square brick, stamped (Weitzel and Weissbach, *Hauptbeil*, p. 38).
Inv. #41[illegible]	Babylon, Sahn south, at [illegible] (Weitzel and Weissbach, p. 86).
Babylon J3	Square brick, stamped (Weitzel and Weissbach, *Hauptbeil*, p. 38).
Inv. #46406	Babylon, Merkes, on brick pillar on "Prozessionsstraße" (Weitzel and Weissbach, p. 86, and [illegible] Reisner, *Inventarliste*, pp. [illegible]).
Babylon K1–9	All bricks, 6 with Sahn, stamped inscription, 4 with [illegible] stamped inscription, 1 with [illegible] stamped inscription, 1 with no inscription (Weitzel and Weissbach, *Hauptbeil*, p. 38 [illegible]). J. [illegible] found at Babylon, at its around [illegible] below (Weitzel and Weissbach, *Hauptbeil*, p. 86, inventory list).
K1–Inv. #[illegible]	Kasr, on surface.
K2–Inv. #41[illegible]	Sahn, south, at [illegible], inside Ermenmarke enclosure (plan 5).
K3–Inv. #41[illegible]	Sahn, south, at [illegible].
K4–Inv. #42[illegible]	Kasr, at K21.
K5–Inv. #46402	Merkes, brick pillar, layer 31.
K6–Inv. #46403	Merkes, brick pillar, layer 37.
K7–Inv. #46405	Merkes, brick pillar, layer 37.
K8–Inv. #46406	Merkes, brick pillar, layer 35.
K9–Inv. #46404	Merkes, brick pillar, layer 34.
Babylon L	Square brick with stamped inscription (Weitzel and Weissbach, *Hauptbeil*, p. 38).
Inv. #46407	Babylon, Merkes, brick pillar, layer 37 (Weitzel and Weissbach, p. 86).
Babylon M	Brick, handwritten inscription (Weitzel and Weissbach, *Hauptbeil*, pp. 38 f. and 86).
Inv. #46374	Babylon, Merkes, layer 37, on brick pillar (Weitzel and Weissbach, p. 86).
Babylon N1	Brick, handwritten inscription (Weitzel and Weissbach, *Hauptbeil*, p. 38).
Inv. #15316	Babylon, Nimmu temple, on gate to court (Weitzel and Weissbach, p. 86).

Babylon N2 — Baked brick, handwritten inscription (Wetzel and Weissbach, *Hauptheiligtum*, p. [illegible])

Inv. #41439 — Babylon, North-north of sq. 15 (Wetzel and Weissbach, p. 86); recovered in brick water pipe—95 channel in late renewal of the wall of Esemmeskar's sanctuary (Wetzel and Weissbach, p. 10 and Wetzel, *MDOG*, 44, pp. 2–4)

Babylon N3 — Brick, handwritten inscription (Wetzel and Weissbach, *Hauptheiligtum*, p. [illegible])

Inv. #36161 — Babylon, Merkes, layer 37 in brick pillar (Wetzel and Weissbach, p. 86)

Babylon N4 — Brick, handwritten inscription (Wetzel and Weissbach, *Hauptheiligtum*, p. 19)

Inv. #36435 — Babylon, Merkes, layer 37 in brick pillar (Wetzel and Weissbach, p. 86)

Babylon N5 — Brick, handwritten inscription (Wetzel and Weissbach, *Hauptheiligtum*, p. [illegible])

Inv. #36436 — Babylon, Merkes, layer 37 in brick pillar (Wetzel and Weissbach, p. 86)

Babylon X — Brick with impressed Late inscription (Wetzel and Weissbach, *Hauptheiligtum*, p. 86, reconstructed text)

Inv. #[illegible] — Babylon, Esagila, unknown (Wetzel and Weissbach, p. 86)

Bursippa A — Fragment of small votive tablet, baked (*MAH*, p. 297), then attributed to Sennacherib (V)

K. 1945 — Sippar (?) (K. [illegible])

Kalach A1 — Wall peg, inscribed (tablet), dated Shu'a 4.52 (Wiseman, *Iraq*, 14, p. 54)

N13 1120 — Calah, found in glass jar in a stone wall well, south-east land of Tigris (Wiseman, p. 54), designated as in Shaikh Alshollah of Nimrud, almost in the centre of a mound under three of Iraqi mud village of Nimrud which, at least, seem to be built on modern image (Mallowan, *Nimrud* II, p. 638, n. 8)

Kalach A2–6 — Nail-inscription (unpublished) (K. p. 12)

A2 · K. 1643 — Nimrud (K. [illegible])

A3 · K. 1644 — Nimrud (K. [illegible])

A4 · K. 1646 — Nimrud (K. [illegible])

A5 · K. 1647 — Nimrud (K. [illegible])

A6 · K. 1649 — Nimrud (K. [illegible])

***Kalach A7** — Hollow baked tablets, dated Ajaru 28, 672 (Hulin, *Iraq*, 24, pp. 376–378)

N13 11308 — Calah, in Nimrud Spring, [illegible] wall or tower at south-west corner (Hulin, pp. 376–378), in debris along wall of Fr. Shalmaneser (Mallowan, *Nimrud* II, p. 638, n. 8)

***Kalach A8–11**	Fragments of 4 baked clay cylinders (Mallowan, *Nimrud*, II, p. 427 [illegible]) [illegible] found at Nimrud, [illegible] NI [illegible] (Iraq, 11, and quotations [illegible] Mallowan, *Iraq*, 23, pp. [illegible] and Mallowan, *Nimrud*, II, p. 435)
AS.NI 7000	Dated AB.[illegible] (Mallowan, p. [illegible])
AS.NI 7007	Dated [illegible] (Mallowan, p. 176)
AS.NI 7008	Dated [illegible] (Mallowan, p. 176)
AS.NI 7009	Date missing (Mallowan, p. 176)
***Kalach A12**	Fragments of one cylinder (Wiseman, *Iraq*, 26, p. 122)
ND 3000 [illegible]	Clearly in the citadel (Wiseman, p. 122)
***Kalach A13**	Fragments of cylinder (Mallowan, *Nimrud*, II, p. 638, n. 8)
NI 12861	Clearly in Shalmaneser's palace above floor of SW 7 (Mallowan, p. 638, n. 8; Oates, *Iraq*, 29, p. [illegible])
***Kalach A14**	Cylinder fragment (dated 836) (Mallowan, *Nimrud*, II, p. 638, n. 8)
NI 12863	Clearly from Kalach A13 palace (Mallowan, p. 638, n. 8)
Kalach B	Fragments of clay cylinder (2 [illegible] original diameter, 1.5 [illegible] thick) [illegible] (Andrae, *Babylon*, [illegible], p. 438)
K. 3652	Nineveh (K. [illegible])
Kalach C	On a rock [illegible] (Layard, *Nineveh*, I, p. 45, Layard, *Nin.*, I, pp. 300–301, and II, pp. 199–200)
	Near [illegible] through rock [illegible] on bank [illegible] Zab River, opposite mouth of Qusair. Lower Height [illegible] (Oates, *Iraq*, [illegible], p. 46)
Kalach D1–6	All found [illegible] (Layard, *Nin.*, II, p. 286), one block (Mallowan, *Nimrud*, II, p. 286), [illegible] bulls and sphinxes in NW Palace (Layard, *Nin.*, [illegible])
***Kalach E1**	Cylinder fragment, 5–7 cm. (Wiseman, *Iraq*, 26, pp. 122–123 and pl. 27)
ND 4314	Clearly, Nimrud and Tiglathpileser's temple on citadel, above pavement, [illegible] corner of SE B XI, at depth of 2.4 m., with ND 4312 (Wiseman, p. 122, n. 17)
***Kalach E2**	Cylinder fragment 7–10 cm. (Wiseman, *Iraq*, 26, pp. 122–123 and pl. 27)
ND 4314	Clearly on floor of SE B XIII (Wiseman, p. 122, n. 17)
***Kalach E3**	Cylinder fragment (Wiseman, *Iraq*, 26, pp. 122–123 and pl. 27)
ND 4315	Clearly on pavement between doorways (Wiseman, p. 122, n. 17)

***Kalach F1–2**	On stones flanking the postern gate (F1). Reade in *Iraq* [illegible], ed. John Curtis, p. [illegible] and fig. [illegible]
——	Only one visible on each side of postern gate (F1), on corner of F1. Shalmaneser I. Reade in Curtis, p. [illegible] and fig. [illegible]
Nineveh A1	Complete or near-complete prism. Thompson, *Iraq* 7, p. [illegible], dated Adad-nirari, [illegible]. Hirsch, p. [illegible]
BM 121015	Eh. 1929-10-12, 1. Nineveh, at House SH on tile floor in the richly decorated Kuyunjik mound, within the outer wall. Thompson, *Iraq* 7, p. [illegible] and *DWA*, p. [illegible]
Nineveh A2+	Lower half of a large prism, or a cylindrical clay prism. Borchardt *et al.*, p. [illegible] and p. [illegible], dated Pinches, *ZA* 10, p. [illegible]. John de Cogan, *MAA* 41, p. [illegible]
48-11-4, 515	
K. 1667	Nineveh. K. [illegible] K. 1667 written in Assyrian characters. Borchardt *et al.*, p. [illegible]
K. 6387	Nineveh. K. [illegible] K. 1667 + K. 6387 were remarked listed as an independent text. Borger's Sam. 17. Previous join of these 2 fragments in Sam. A25 was in error. de Cogan, p. [illegible]
Nineveh A3	No description.
	Sherzer Elam School *Dissert.* Supp. 26
Nineveh A4	No description.
	Sherzer Elam School *Dissert.* Supp. 26
Nineveh A5	Cracked prism. Schroeder *Dissert.* Supp. 26, no. p. 2
AH 1962 and 1966	Nineveh. [illegible] Sennacherib. Bought by Schroeder brothers. Based [illegible] Schroeder, p. 2. Original formats. Chicago
Nineveh A6	Prism or cylinder? Copies in Hirschberg Studies, p. [illegible]
VA 3449 [illegible]	No prism. Sennacherib. Museum Akkim. Hirschberg, p. [illegible]
Nineveh A7	Cylinder fragment. Clay prism? Sennacherib. Zarqa Dossier. R.L. 90, pp. [illegible]. Hirschberg Studies, p. [illegible] and esp. pl. [illegible]. Hirsch, p. [illegible] and MAD, year broken [illegible] in the year of [illegible] Isseyn. *JB*, p. [illegible]
——	Bibliography. Discussion in Mesopotamia. Bibliography, pp. [illegible]
Nineveh A8	Fragment of a prism, part of [illegible]. Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. [illegible]
BM 121007	1929-10-12, 3. Nineveh, House SH. Thompson, *Iraq* 7, p. [illegible]
Nineveh A9+	Prism. Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. 35 and 72, and Cogan, *JAOS* 91, p. [illegible], with Cogan, p. [illegible]
BM 122853	1929-10-12, 331. Nineveh. Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. 35
BM 134669	[illegible] 1932-12-12, 454. Nineveh, NW Pal. of Sinn. [F]. Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. 72; House SH [F]. Thompson, *Iraq* 7, p. [illegible]

Nineveh A10	No description
TM 1931-2, 16	Nineveh (Thompson, *Iraq*, 7, p. 1[illegible])

[Nineveh A11 has been joined to Nin. A2.]

Nineveh A12	Fragment of upper part of a prism (Rezold, *Cat.*, p. 1655).
Rm. 2, 164	No pros.
Nineveh A13	Fragment of upper part of a prism (Rezold, *Cat.*, p. 1672)
Rm. 2, 364	No pros.
Nineveh A14	6-sided prism (JER)
BM 99043	1904-10-9, 72. Nineveh, Kuyunjik (JER)
Nineveh A15	6-sided prism (JER)
BM 99044	1904-10-9, 73. Nineveh, Kuyunjik (JER)
Nineveh A16	No description, dated Pre-Isin, 673 (B., p. 36)
VA 8826	No pros.
Nineveh A17	No description
VA 8827	No pros.
Nineveh A18	No description
VA 8829	No pros.
Nineveh A19	Prism (JER)
VA 8125	Assur 14549. Assur, at B/9, on small mound in E section of city, near remains of a small section of wall, not major building nearby (B., p. 37, and Andrae, *Wonder Assur*, city plan)
Nineveh A20–24	Fragments (see further description: B., p. 37)
A 16917	Oriental Institute, Chicago. No pros. (B., p. 37)
A 16925, 8	Oriental Institute, Chicago. No pros. (B., p. 37)
***Nineveh A25**	Part of first and second discs of clay prism (Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. 25), no pros. to Nin. A2, as previously argued (Cogan, *AfO* 31, p. 72 n. 4), date still unpublished (Lambert and Millard, p. 25)
BM 123435	1932-12-20, 378. Nineveh, in the Chief terms boxes for the flat area within the curve of the river and the outer city walls, and for area of dumps from early excavations (Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. 25)
***Nineveh A26+**	Joins (Cogan, *AfO* 31, p. 72), prism, dated Addaru, 673 (Cogan, p. 72)
BM 127672	1929-10-12, 528. Nineveh, in House M4, prism, part of 2 faces (Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. 35)
BM 127675	1929-10-12, 631. Nineveh, prism, part of 2 faces (Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. 43)
BM 134488	1932-12-22, 483. Nineveh, prism, part of 1 face (Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. 72)

BM 138195	Part of a prism; no prov., but part of a group of texts with many parts in texts excavated by Thompson at Nineveh (Cogan, 1983, 31, p. 72).
***Nineveh A27**	Prism fragment (Cogan, 1983, 31, p. 72).
BM 138184	Nineveh, part of same group of British Museum texts as BM 138195, see commentary above (Cogan, p. 72).
***Nineveh A28**	Prism, part of base and 2 faces, dated Sennacherib, 672 (Lambert and Millard, Cat., p. 35).
BM 127879	1929-10-12, 335. Nineveh, Bêt temple, at N (Lambert and Millard, p. 35).
***Nineveh A29**	Prism, parts of 2 faces (Lambert and Millard, Cat., p. 40).
BM 127931	1929-10-12, 607. Nineveh (Lambert and Millard, p. 40).
***Nineveh A30**	Prism, flake from one face (Lambert and Millard, Cat., p. 46).
BM 128068	1929-10-12, 724. Nineveh (Lambert and Millard, p. 46).
***Nineveh A31+**	Prism, lunulas (Cogan, 1983, 31, p. 73). Dated Pre-Sîn, 673 (Lambert and Millard, Cat., p. 56).
BM 128221	1932-12-10, 476. Nineveh, prism, part of base and 4 faces (Lambert and Millard, Cat., p. 55).
BM 128222	1932-12-10, 479. Nineveh, prism, part of 3 faces (Lambert and Millard, p. 55).
BM 128232	1932-12-10, 489. Nineveh, at House M1, trench H, prism, part of base and 2 faces (Lambert and Millard, p. 56).
***Nineveh A32+**	First three fragments joined by Cogan (1983, 31, p. 73). Possible additional joins to BM 128243 (Lambert and Millard, Cat., p. 57).
BM 128290	1932-12-10, 540. Nineveh, prism, part of 2 faces (Lambert and Millard, p. 59).
BM 128260	1932-12-10, 526. Nineveh, prism, part of 1 face (Lambert and Millard, p. 58).
BM 128279	Nineveh, area (Lambert and Millard, p. 58).
BM 128243	1932-12-10, 500. Prism, part of 1 face, join not certain (Lambert and Millard, p. 57).
***Nineveh A33**	Prism, part of one face (Lambert and Millard, Cat., p. 58).
BM 128274	1932-12-10, 531. Nineveh (Lambert and Millard, p. 58).
***Nineveh A34**	Prism, part of two faces (Lambert and Millard, Cat., p. 60).
BM 128322	1932-12-10, 574. Nineveh (Lambert and Millard, p. 60).
***Nineveh A35**	Prism, part of top and one face (Lambert and Millard, Cat., p. 70).
BM 134168	1932-12-12, 463. Nineveh (Lambert and Millard, p. 70).
Nineveh B1	Conical prism with longitudinal hole (Herzfeld, Cat., p. 1669; Budge, *By Nile*, II, p. 26; and Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains*, II, p. 186).
48-10-31, 2	Nineveh, Nebi Yunus. Bought by Layard from a family living on Nebi Yunus who were using it as a candlestick (Budge, *By Nile*, II, p. 26; Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains*, II, p. 186).

Nineveh B2	Fragment of a clay prism (Scheil, *RA*, 18, p. 31)
——	Bought by Eugène Tisserant in Mesopotamia (Scheil, *RA*, 18, p. 3)
Nineveh B3*	Wedged clay prism. Found among Megiddo (*YOS*, IX, p. 18)
YBC 2257	Neo-prism. Yale Babylonian Collection
Peabody 1970	Neo-prism, small fragment, joining 14 known fragments and adding fragments of 4 [illegible] recovered by Peabody Museum Natural History. Yale [illegible] from the Yale Babylonian Collection. Yale U. Beckman, *JAOS* 114, 6, pp. [illegible]
Nineveh B4 ?	Joined by [illegible] (*RA* 31, p. 73), wedged prism (JEN Bezold, Cat., p. [illegible] and p. [illegible])
Nineveh B5	
K. [illegible]	Probably Nineveh. Kouyunjik. BM
76-7-16, 8	
Nineveh B6	Fragment from middle of a prism (Bezold, Cat., p. [illegible])
83-1-18, 140	Nineveh. From NW Palace. BM
***Nineveh B7**	Wedged prism, nearly complete. [illegible] × 14 cm., dated to Ayaru 22, 676. [illegible] and Oppenheim, Sumer, 12, p. [illegible]
	Nineveh. Neo-Assyrian mound. 18 m. below surface in mud-brick [illegible] of Esarhaddon's palace [illegible] mound. [illegible] Woolley, [illegible] 37, p. 229 and [illegible] 38, p. [illegible]. Sumer, 12, and in Heal and Oppenheim, [illegible]
Nineveh C*	Parts of two wedged prisms. JEN Bezold, Cat., p. [illegible] (p. 330 and p. [illegible]), joined by Borger (*RA* [illegible] 38). Dated Abu 18, year broken off. [illegible]
K. 8542	Nineveh. Kouyunjik
BM 80,7-19, 24	K. [illegible] Nineveh. Kouyunjik
Hu. 90-4-26, 24	Joins K. [illegible]
Nineveh D1	Prism. Thompson, *Iraq* 7, p. 79; Probably wedged. JEN, p. 381
BM 1933-2-4	Nineveh. In Kisir by [illegible] of Nabu temple. Thompson, p. 165, or in Bit-ag temple, or q. Kisir. Lambert and Millard, [illegible] p. 70
***Nineveh D2**	Wedged prism, part of base and traces. Lambert and Millard, [illegible] p. 70
BM 134465	1933-12-12. Joins Nineveh. Lambert and Millard, p. 70
Nineveh E	Wedged prism. JEN, piece from middle of prism (Bezold, Cat., p. [illegible])
[illegible] 80-7-19, 15	Nineveh. NW Palace. BM
***Nineveh D or E?**	Fragment. Wedged prism, parts of 2 cols. the "Warner Mus. frag." Borger, [illegible] 38, pp. 114–115.
——	Not joined
Nineveh F	Wedged prism. JEN Bezold, Cat., p. [illegible]
82-5-22, 13	Nineveh. Kouyunjik. BM [illegible]

Nineveh G+ Joined to Berger [illegible] p. [illegible] (barrel cylinder) (Thompson, *Rep.* 7, p. [illegible]; Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. 35; dated Clichy [illegible] p. [illegible])

BM 122677 Provenance: [illegible] Nineveh, 15 [illegible] at [illegible] 50' from Sargon's Well, near Bird Temple (Thompson, *Rep.* 7, pp. [illegible]; [illegible] Assurnasirpal II [illegible]; Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. [illegible])

K. 1650 Nineveh (K. [illegible])

Nineveh H1 Clay cuneiform cylinder frag. (Hilprecht)

BM 108082 [illegible] Nineveh (Hilprecht)

Nineveh H2+ Fragment of cylinder, total [illegible] (Borger, *Cat.*, p. 47)

K. 2742 Nineveh (K. [illegible])

K. 2743 Nineveh (K. [illegible])

Nineveh H3 Fragment of cylinder, part of right-end (Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. [illegible])

BM 120632 [illegible] Nineveh (Thompson, *Rep.* 7, p. [illegible])

Nineveh I+ Barrel-cylinder fragment, photo (Langdon, [illegible] 1, pp. 75–76; possibly Langdon, [illegible] 1, p. 75)

[illegible] Nineveh

BM [illegible] [illegible] Nineveh

Nineveh I2 Solid barrel-cylinder fragment (Pohl) (Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. [illegible])

BM 122628 [illegible] p. [illegible] Nineveh, broken fragment of within 10 from [illegible] of the Palace of Nabû-temple, near Sargon's Well (Thompson, *Rep.* 7, p. [illegible]; palace of Assurnasirpal [illegible] 1, chamber [illegible]; Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. [illegible])

Nineveh J+ Barrel-cylinder (Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. [illegible])

BM [illegible] [illegible] (BM [illegible]) 34 Fragment of barrel cylinder, right end (Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. [illegible]; Nineveh, in House M1 (Thompson, *Rep.* 7, pp. [illegible] and [illegible])

BM 122664 [illegible] Fragment of barrel-cylinder, [illegible] (Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. 40; possible join suggested by Borger noted in Lambert and Millard, *Cat.*, p. 40)

Nineveh K Original [illegible] (K., p. [illegible])

Found at Nineveh and Calah (K., p. [illegible])

Nineveh L Clay brick (Meissner and Rost, R.I.III, p. 202; [illegible] back of slab (Borger, *Cat.*, p. 235)

— — — The brick is from Nineveh, Nebi Yunus (Meissner and Rost, R.I.III, p. 202; no prov. given for slab)

Nineveh M1 Brick (Meissner and Rost, R.I.III, p. 204)

48-11-4, 29 Nineveh, Nebi Yunus mound (Meissner and Rost, p. 204); no indication (Borger, *Cat.*, p. 235)

Nineveh M2–3	Two bricks (Walker, *Brick*, pp. 69 and 125)
——	Calah (Walker, *Brick*, p. 69, no. 3); Alexandria of Nisr. M1 duplicate (restored, unknown of dimensions, Sidebrick, Bragg, 1[illegible], pan. 35)
Nineveh N	Alabaster vase (Mallowan and Rost, *JCS*, III, p. 204)
	Nineveh, Kouyunjik (Mallowan and Rost, p. 204)
Nineveh O	Brick (Walker, *Brick*, p. 126)
–	Nineveh, N (Walker, p. 126)
Nineveh P	Bronze lion weight (Mallowan and Rost, *JCS*, III, p. 202)
– —	No provn. (Istanbul Mus.) (Mallowan and Rost, p. 202)
Nineveh Q	Frag. of alabaster bowl (Thompson, *Arch.*, 24, p. 121, no. 48 [plate no. 40], pl. 15, p. 50 [and plate] [illegible])
. . .	Nineveh, Nabu temple, w. wall, central, entrance (Thompson, p. 121)
Nineveh R	No description
	No prov.
Nippur A1	Fragment (inner right edge) of barrel cylinder (ca. 8 cm. [illegible]) (Stone, 1, Steele, *JAOS*, 70, p. 600)
SN 142	Nippur, in Ashurnirmashshu's debris near Ashurnirari's well at Tablet Hill (restored, Steele, p. 600)
Nippur A2	Fragment of barrel cylinder (Steele, *JAOS*, 70, p. 601)
1[illegible]34	No prov. (University Mus., Phila.) (Steele, p. 601)
Nippur A3	Fragment of barrel cylinder (Steele, *JAOS*, 70, p. 601)
1[illegible]47	No prov. (University Mus., Phila.) (Steele, p. 601)
Nippur A4	Very small fragment of barrel cylinder (Steele, *JAOS*, 70, p. 601)
1[illegible]35	No prov. (University Mus., Phila.) (Steele, p. 601)
***Nippur A5**	Barrel cylinder fragment (Goetze, *JCS*, 17, p. 119)
6N-T1036	Nippur, Inanna temple area (Goetze, p. 119), Istanbul Mus. (Goetze, p. 119)
***Nippur A6**	Barrel cylinder, 3 ff. fragment (Goetze, *JCS*, 17, p. 119)
6N-T1065	Nippur, Inanna temple area (Amer. School of Oriental Research) (Goetze, p. 119)
***Nippur A7**	3 fragments (ca. 7 cm.) of a baked clay barrel cylinder (Buccellati and Biggs, *AS*, 17, p. 4; Goetze, *JCS*, 17, p. 119, and copy, p. 4)
8N-T2	(Mixed) Nippur, in MB 78 to fill below Level II (Buccellati and Biggs, *AS*, 17, p. 4)
***Nippur A8**	Barrel cylinder fragment, left part (Goetze, *JCS*, 17, p. 119)
6N-T1063	Nippur, Inanna temple area (Goetze, p. 119)
***Nippur A9**	Barrel cylinder fragment, right part (Goetze, *JCS*, 17, p. 119)
5N-T476	Nippur, Inanna temple area (Goetze, p. 119)

***Nippur A10**	Baked clay cylinder fragment, toward right end (Buccellati and Biggs, *AS* 17, p. 4; Gasetze, *JCS* 17, p. 119 and corps, p. 123)
4N-13	A12262. Nippur, at SE, Levels VI-VII (Buccellati and Biggs, p. 5)
***Nippur A11**	Barrel cylinder fragment (Gasetze, *JCS* 17, p. 119)
4N-176	Nippur, Inanna temple area (Gasetze, p. 119)
***Nippur A12**	Barrel cylinder fragment, left part (Gasetze, *JCS* 17, p. 119)
4N-175	Nippur, Inanna temple area, Amer. School Oriental Research (Gasetze, p. 119)
***Nippur A13**	Barrel cylinder frag., center part (Gasetze, *JCS* 17, p. 119), clay, good condition. YBC tablet, creamy golden clay, clear. Ass. script, ruled, personal inspection
NBC 11323	5N-1264. Nippur, Inanna temple area (Gasetze, p. 119). Yale Babylonian Collection (YBC) tablet.
***Nippur A14**	Barrel cylinder fragment, about half a barrel (Gasetze, *JCS* 17, p. 119), clay, good condition. NBC tablet, light tan clay, beautiful clear. Ass. script, ruled, personal inspection
NBC 10634	6N-13044. Nippur, Inanna temple area. Yale Babylonian Collection (Gasetze, p. 119)
Nippur B1	Fragment, no further description (B, p. 20)
6 HS 2350	No prov. Univ. Mus. Philad. (B, p. 20)
Nippur B2	Fragment of barrel cylinder, toward left end (Gasetze, *JCS* 17, p. 119)
11-N 1250	No prov. (Hilprecht Sammlung, Jena) (Biggs, 20)
***Nippur B3**	Fragment of barrel cylinder (Civil, *RA* 65, p. 94)
12N-13	Nippur, near northwest Parthian fortress entrance (Civil, p. 94; J. Kinnier, Sumer 22, pp. 111-81)
***Nippur A or B?**	Cylinder fragment (Buccellati and Biggs, *AS* 17, p. 13)
4M-7610	9N-14-0. Nippur, surface (Buccellati and Biggs, p. 13)
Nippur C	Brick (Gasetze, *JCS* 17, p. 119)
	5N-1762. Nippur, west gate of Inanna temple (Gasetze, p. 119)
Nippur D	Brick (M. Civil, *RA* 68, p. 94)
—	No prov.
Tarbisu A+	Small barrel cylinder (Nassouhi, *MAOG* III, 1-2, p. 22; photos Ass. 2586-91, 2442-42, dated Ayar 18, 672 B.C., p. 72)
ISF 6703	Ass. 15086 (1567-69). Aššur, near temple (Hunger/Kurz-Weisman, *Baq.* 14, p. 55; Nassouhi, p. 22; now part of Istanbul). Aššur temple, with other fragments and cylinders (Pedersen, *Baq.* Sup. 9).
Tarbisu B	Brick (Messerschmidt and Bossert, *RA* III, p. 204)
—	No prov.
Tarbisu C	Brick (Messerschmidt and Bossert, *RA* III, p. 204)
—	No prov.

***Tarbisu D1–2**	Two bricks (Messerschmidt and Rost, *BA*, III, p. 293; Walker, *Brick*, p. 126)
—	Tarbisu (Walker, p. 126, labelled "Assyrian Basement, no. 118" and "Nimrud Gallery, no. 59" in Berold, *Catal.*, p. 223b)
Uruk A1	Complete cylinder (*KAH* II; Messerschmidt and Rost, *BA*, III, p. 351 ff., and *AKAH* II, p. 27)
BM 86-7-, 269	No pics
Uruk A2	Small fragment of left half of a cylinder, 1.5" long (*KAH*, Rabel script; Messerschmidt and Rost, *BA*, III, p. 355; Berold, *Catal.*, p. 283)
K 10366	No pics
Uruk A3	Barrel cylinder (Nies and Keiser, *BIN* II, no. 26), schist or clay cylinder, unbroken, one pick-mark in center, lightly-incised signs legibly on red, yellowish-white surface (personal examination)
NBC 2510	No pics; purchased by Nies, Nies and Keiser, no. 26
Uruk A4	Clay barrel cylinder (unpublished, 14 cm. × 7 cm.), Neo-Bab script (Stephens, *YOS*, IX, no. 137), yellowish clay, unbaked, clear, moderately deep signs, ruled, in 2 parts, joined to make cylinder, lower half worn (personal examination)
NBC 6088	No pics; YBC 8166
Uruk B1	Clay barrel cylinder, Ass. script (Clay, *YOS*, I, p. 56; copy, pl. XXXII; photo), Sumpf-incised signs, clear and deep, ruled, 11 × 6 cm.; lower half (personal examination)
YBC 2147	Uruk (Clay, p. 56)
Uruk B2	Barrel cylinder frag. (Nies and Keiser, *BIN* II, no. 27), broken on one end, and part of bottom; clay uneven, dark grey, with splotches of cream; slipped, remaining; bottom blackened as if burnt; ruled or incised lines, large, clear signs, preserved 3 × 3.5 cm. (personal examination)
NBC 2600	No pics; YBC 11600
Uruk B3	Cylinder (Schott in Jordan, *AfOAO*, 1929, 7, pp. 48 ff. and pp. 57 f., no. 24)
Uruk #956	Uruk (Schott, pp. 57 ff.)
Uruk C1	Barrel cylinder, 15 cm. h. (Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, II, p. 96)
——	Uruk (Thureau-Dangin, p. 96)
Uruk C2	Small, angle-shouldered cylinder, dark brown clay, near hand (Arnold, *CJ*, 56, p. 50)
BM 113204	No pics
Uruk C3	Cylinder fragment, handwritten (Schott in Jordan, *AfOAO*, 1929, pp. 48 ff. and p. 58, no. 24)
#4008	Uruk at Pt. XIV, 5 m. w. south wall of Sargon (Schott, pp. 48 ff.)
Uruk D	Clay barrel cylinder, 15 (Assur, western), Assur script (Clay, *YOS*, I, p. 56, no. 40)
——	Uruk (Clay, no. 40)

Uruk E1	Stamped clay brick, 335 × 165–7 cm. (Schott in Jordan, *AfOB*, 1929, 7, p. 57)
Uruk #942	Uruk, Stadtgebiet, in QbXV4. (Schott, p. 57)
Uruk E2	Stamped clay brick, 335 × 165–7 cm. (Schott in Jordan, *AfOB*, 1929, 7, p. 57)
Uruk #3764	Uruk, Stadtgebiet, in QdXV4, in letzte. (Schott, p. 57)
Uruk E3	Stamped clay brick, 335 × 165–7 cm. (Schott in Jordan, *AfOB*, 1929, 7, p. 57)
Uruk #3685	Uruk, Eanna area. (Schott, p. 57)
Uruk E4	Stamped clay brick, 335 × 165–7 cm. (Schott in Jordan, *AfOB*, 1929, 7, p. 57)
Uruk #1238	Uruk, in letzte. (Schott, p. 57)
Uruk F	Stamped brick, 41 cm. (Schott in Jordan, *AfOB*, 1929, 7, p. 57)
Uruk #1439	Uruk, in QdXIV 5. (Schott, p. 57)
Uruk G	No description
	No price
AsBbA1	Clay tablet. (BR, covered [illegible] × 32 × 3.6 cm.) Beyerdi Car
K. 2801	Tablet fragment, probably from Nineveh. Kouyunjik. (BR)
K. 3033	Tablet fragment, probably from Nineveh. Kouyunjik. (BR)
DT. 252	Tablet fragment, probably from Nineveh. Kouyunjik. (BR)
AsBbA2	Clay tablet. (BR)
K. 221	Probably NW. Palace, Nineveh. Kouyunjik. (BR)
K. 2669	Probably NW. Palace, Nineveh. Kouyunjik. (BR)
AsBbB	Upper part of [illegible] tablet, 2.7 × 1.7. (Beyerdi Car., p. 467)
K. 3945	Nineveh? Kouyunjik
AsBbC	Fragment from middle of tablet, 2.7 × 1.7. (Beyerdi Car., p. 1362. BR)
Sm. 2080	Nineveh. (BR)
AsBbD	Fragment of very [illegible] cylinder, 1.7, [illegible] sections, very [illegible]. (Beyerdi Car., p. 325)
K. 3634	Nineveh? Kouyunjik
AsBbE	Tablet of [illegible] alabaster, 5 cm. thick. (*AfOB*, 1, 26, p. 42 [illegible] and Mesopotamia, K. 3274 [illegible] 75, pp. 60–70 and p. XIII, photo [illegible])
FM.262	Assur #[illegible]. Assur temple [illegible] of great court. Assur temple, [illegible] tablets from collapsed [illegible] wall [illegible] Mesopotamia, K. 3274 [illegible], p. XIII, with [illegible] alabaster tablets and [illegible] courtyard. Assur temple. Pedersen, II, p. 12. Istanbul Mus. (BR)

AsBbF	Upper part of tablet, 3½" × 3½" (Bezold, *Cat.*, p. 8869)
K. 7862	Nineveh? (Kuyunjik number).
AsBbG	Lower part of tablet, 2½" × 2½" (Bezold, *Cat.*, p. 711)
K. 5382b	Nineveh? (Kuyunjik number)
AsBbH	Fragment of left half of tablet, 2½" × 1½" (Bezold, *Cat.*, p. 1461)
Sm. 1679	No prov.
K. 2388	(Berger, *Ark.*, p. 921, upper part of tablet, 3½" × 2½" (Bezold, *Cat.*, p. 438)
K. 2388	Nineveh? (Kuyunjik number)
Sammelrest 1	Right half of tablet, 5" × 2½" (Bezold, *Cat.*, p. 4669)
K. 2711	Nineveh? (Kuyunjik number)
Sammelrest 2	Frag. from middle of tablet, 2½" × 2" (Bezold, *Cat.*, p. 6361)
K. 4687	Nineveh? (Kuyunjik number)
Monument A1	Basalt stele, 10'6" h., with bas-relief of king and 2 prisoners (Von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen*, I, pp. 30 ff., photo. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East*, #121, descrip., App. I)
—	Zincirli, in the small court within the outer city gate, fallen beside its bronze stone base (Von Luschan, I, pp. 22 ff. and 30 ff.).
Monument A2	Tablet fragment, mid-section, 1½" × 1½" (Bezold, *Cat.*, p. 11280)
K. 13649	Nineveh? (Kuyunjik number)
Monument A3*	Tablet fragments (Bezold, *Cat.*, pp. 1567 and 1612)
1H. 599	No prov.
82-3-23, 39	No prov.
Monument B	Bottom section of large black basalt stele with unfinished bas-relief showing king and 2 prisoners (Thureau-Dangin, *Syria*, 10, pp. 195–205, descrip., App. I)
—	Tell Barsip, in fragments, near the tell (Thureau-Dangin, pp. 185–205).
Monument C	On cliff-face, inscribed across figure of king (F. Weinbach, *Denkmäler ... Nahr el-Kelb*, pp. 27 ff., for descrip. see App. I).
—	Mouth of Nahr el-Kelb, north of Beirut, Lebanon (Weinbach, pp. 27 ff.)
Gottesbrief 1	Tablet, partly broken, upper part (Winckler, *AOF*, I, p. 530 f., Talon, *Annuaire*, 1952/54, p. 66)
K. 7599	Nineveh? (Kuyunjik number)
Gottesbrief 2*	Tablet, upper part and fragment (Bezold, *Cat.*, p. 481 and 11294)
K. 2852	Nineveh? (Kuyunjik number)
K. 9662	Nineveh? (Kuyunjik number)
***"Wiener fragment"**	Fragment of 8-sided prism, text of right col. parallel to Gbr (Berger, *AfO*, 16, pp. 114 ff.).
——	No prov., Wiener Museum für Völkerkunde

Treaty, Ba'al of Tyre*	Tablet fragments (Bezold, Cat., pp. 539, 633, and 1074)
K. 3500	Nineveh? (Kouyunjik numbers)
K. 4444	Nineveh? (Kouyunjik numbers)
K. 14235	Nineveh? (Kouyunjik numbers)
Frt. A	Tablet fragment, right half (Bezold, Cat., p. 464)
K. 2673	Nineveh? (Kouyunjik number)
Frt. B	Tablet fragment, lower part (Bezold, Cat., p. 935)
K. 8523	Nineveh? (Kouyunjik number)
Frt. C	Tablet fragment (Bezold, Cat., p. 1486)
Sm. 1421	No pros
Frt. D	Tablet, upper part of left side (Bezold, Cat., p. 1651, may be part of Treaty with Ba'al, B., p. 111)
K. 1173	Nineveh? (Kouyunjik number)
Frt. E	Tablet, lower part of right half (Bezold, Cat., p. 1664)
83-1-18, 463	No pros
Frt. F*	Tablet fragments (Bezold, Cat., p. 503)
K. 3082	Nineveh? (Kouyunjik number)
K. 4086	Nineveh? (Kouyunjik number)
Sm. 2027	Nineveh? (Kouyunjik number)
Frt. G	Tablet fragment, mid-section (Bezold, Cat., p. 1716)
79-7-8, 196	No pros
Frt. H	Tablet fragment (Bezold, Cat., p. 1334)
K. 13721	Nineveh? (Kouyunjik number)
Frt. I*	Tablet fragment (Bezold, Cat., p. 503)
K. 3127	Nineveh? (Kouyunjik number)
K. 4435	Nineveh? (Kouyunjik number)
Frt. J	Fragment, middle of clay prism, 30.5* (Bezold, Cat., p. 1940)
Bu. 91-5-9, 210	No pros
Frt. K	Fragment, middle of clay cylinder, dividing lines (Bezold, Cat., p. 1941)
Bu. 91-5-9, 134	No pros
Frt. L	Tablet fragment, mid-section (Bezold, Cat., p. 1601)
Rm. 284	Two pros
Frt. M	Tablet fragment, mid-section (Bezold, Cat., p. 1912)
83-1-18, 836	No pros
***Frt. N?**	Fragment of [illegible] tablet, small script, possible Esar. text related to return of Marduk (Lambert, st. 42 here, pp. 158–71)
K. 13383	Nineveh? (Kouyunjik no.)

Naqi'a Prism 1+	2 fragments from middle of 6-sided prism (Bezold, Cat., p. 471 and 1617); Borger (prism B), p. 115)
K. 2565	Nineveh? Kuyunjik no.?
Rm 494	Nineveh? (Kuyunjik no.)
Naqi'a Prism 2	Fragment of prism, mid-section, 2½" h., parts of 2 cols. (Bezold, Cat., p. 1276)
91-2-4, 173	No pros.
K. 7945	Fragment, upper part of tablet, archaising script (imitating Sumerian linear inscriptions (Bezold, Cat., p. 884 and B., p. 117 [labeled only by text])
K. 7945	Nineveh? Kuyunjik no.?
K. 10057	Tablet fragment, mid-section (Bezold, Cat., p. 1067)
K. 10057	Nineveh? (Kuyunjik no.)
K. 10220 + K. 10463	Upper part and right-hand corner of tablet (Bezold, Cat., pp. 1073 and 1090)
K. 10220	Nineveh? Kuyunjik no.?
K. 10463	Nineveh? Kuyunjik no.?
K. 13755	Fragment of tablet, mid-section (Bezold, Cat., p. 1335)
K. 13755	Nineveh? Kuyunjik no.?
K. 13753	Fragment of tablet, mid-section (Bezold, Cat., p. 1336)
K. 13753	Nineveh? Kuyunjik no.?
DT 62	Fragment of tablet, mid-section (Bezold, Cat., p. 1540)
DT 62	No pros.
80-7-19, 44	Tablet, upper half (Bezold, Cat., p. 1232), badly calcinated, now cleaned and much more legible (B., p. 119)
80-7-19, 44	No pros.
Lion's Head Inscr.	On a lion's head. Ass. script (B., p. 121)
BM 91678	Sippar (B., p. 121)
***Vassal treaties**	2 or more large clay tablets, much broken. ND 4327, reconstructed, measures 45.8 × 30 cm. (pl. 1) (Wiseman, Iraq, 20 [1958], partial, p. 1, n. 6, pls. 1–53)
ND 4327	[Mixture] and duplicates comprised of ca. 350 fragments (grouped in separate texts and listed in Watanabe, BaM, 3, pp. 47–54), totally crumbling, in vicinity of acropolis, mostly of temple of Nabû-šumu-iškun, mostly of three rooms of SE B2 near door, in doorway of northernmost NE 53, and in south doorway of SE B2 and nearby adjoining courtyard (Wiseman, p. 1), and south of Nabû-šumu-iškun and southwest the Enlil Temple precincts, in debris and above floors of three rooms, in doorway of northernmost NE 53, and in doorways of SE B2 and in the adjacent courtyard (Mallowan, Nimrud, 1, pp. 241 ff.).

Treaty Inscrip.	Fragments of 2-col. clay tablet (Parpola and Watanabe, p. 1).
BM 50600	Probably from Sippar (Parpola and Watanabe, p. 1).
50857	Probably from Sippar (Parpola and Watanabe, p. 1).
53678	Probably from Sippar (Parpola and Watanabe, p. 1).
53728	Probably from Sippar (Parpola and Watanabe, p. 1).
91688	Probably from Sippar (contemporaneous) (Parpola and Watanabe, p. 1).
Accession Treaty	A fragment of one tablet, no direct join (Parpola and Watanabe, p. xlviii).
83-1-18, 130	Nineveh (Parpola and Watanabe, p. xlviii).
83-1-18, 403	Nineveh (Parpola and Watanabe, p. xlviii).
Bu 91-5-9, 151	Nineveh (Parpola and Watanabe, p. xlviii).
***Loyalty Oath**	Tiny fragment, 3/4 half clay tablet (Parpola and Watanabe, p. xlviii).
Bu 91-5-9, 22	Nineveh (Parpola and Watanabe, p. xlviii).
***Plaque Inscrip.**	Inscribed bronze plaque, fragment with bas-relief of king and worship with "Nabû" inscribed on shoulder (Parrot and Nougayrol, *Syria* 30, pp. 147–[illegible]).
AO 20185	No pros.
Eye-stone Inscrip. of Esarhaddon	Agate carved to resemble an eye (Lambert, *RA* 63, pp. 65–71).
Ashmolean 1917.1081	No pros.

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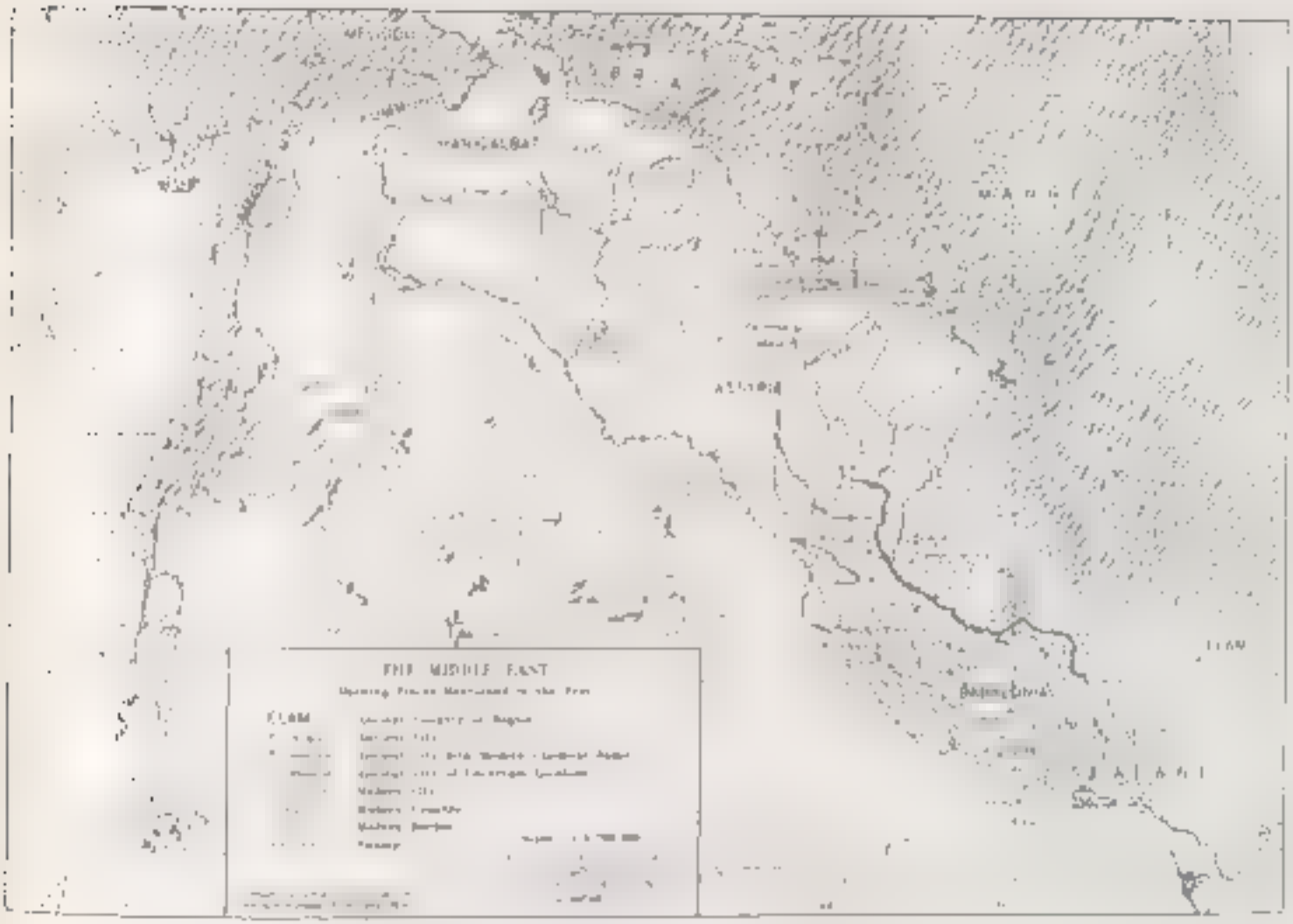
THE MIDDLE EAST